PROGRESSIVE LABOR MAGAZINE

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Revolutionary Violence

EDITORIAL

Progressive Labor Party
Convention

September 2-4, 1978

Agenda

Friday evening: **Arrival of Delegates in New York City**

Saturday morning: **Registration** and **Opening Remarks**

Saturday afternoon: **Workshops***

Saturday evening (7:30 p.m.): **Banquet in PL Office**

Sunday: **Workshops*** meet all day

Monday: **Discussion of Resolutions** submitted before the convention and from the Workshops

Convention ends around **4pm Monday, Sept. 4** (Labor Day)

*Workshops

1 **Industrial workshop** on **PLP/CAR union election** campaigns

2 **Industrial workshop** on relating **immediate demands to political questions**, how to raise politcal questions in the unions, revolution-not-reform.

3 **Industrial workshop** on organizing **new unions**, independent unions, whether to organize "red" unions.

4 **Army workshop**—political work now and organizing more forces to enter.

5 **Significance of building CAR** in general, and how and why in the shops.

6 **High School workshop**—work among teenagers; what kind of organization? H.S. CAR? CHALLENGE Corps II? etc.

7 **College campus workshop**—work in the classroom; emphasis on South Africa and building the Worker-Student Alliance.

8 **International workshop**—including invited guests from other countries.

9 **Party leadership workshop**—methods leadership.

10 **Dialectics workshop**—dialectics applied to shop work.

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EDITORIAL

Revolutionary Violence

The possibility of nuclear war between the superpowers is becoming greater and greater. This article deals with mistaken notions that many people have about the question of war, and nuclear war in particular. The article maintains that nuclear war is not "the end of the world," and that only a revolutionary movement can end the souce of imperialist wars– capitalism.

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BOLSHEVISM VS. REFORMISM

An Historical Perspective

This article, written for the Third International in the early 1930s, deals with Bolshevik or revolutionary work in the unions and plants–building communist fractions and winning the workers away from reformism and the sellout union bureaucrats.

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FICTION

Chronic Illness

A short story about racist medical care in a modern hospital.

The articles appearing in PL Magazine are published because the editorial board believes they are generally useful to the political ideological development of the international revolutionary communist movement. However, only the editorial and documents of the National Committee of the Progressive Labor Party represent the official policies of PLP.

notes and comment

Criticism

To the Editor:

The letter in the April-May, 1978 issue of **PL** Magazine entitled "WEIMAR" criticizes the line of the PLP on the rise of fascism in the US. Since the Party's analysis of this question is of fundamental importance to our strategy and tactics in this period, certain errors of interpretation and fact made in the letter should be clarified.

The letter writer seems to reduce the Party's position on the rise of fascism to the following, "to what extent, today, are the KKK and the NAZIS receiving financial and political support from the capitalist ruling class?" The Party's position is that the main fascist danger comes from the dominant ruling class elements centered around the Northeastern financial kingpins of US capitalism. This view has been unchanged since the events surrounding Watergate and the Party's analysis of those events. The Party, in fact, has explicitly criticized an overemphasis on the possibility of a fascist take-over by the NAZIS or the KKK. Such a line might lead to the revisionist conclusion that we should unite with the liberal ruling class to defeat the overt fascists. The Party has stated time and time again that the main role of the NAZIS and KKK is as weapons of terror against the working class and particularly against minority workers. These degenerate groups also serve as diversions in many respects for many groups and help to sustain racism, revisionism, all sorts of divisions, and so forth.

Nevertheless, the writer of the letter is incorrect in underemphasizing ruling class financial support to the NAZIS and KKK. The publicity that has been given by the mass media (ruling class owned and controlled) to these groups would cost millions if paid for. This publicity, in fact, is a **necessary condition** for the NAZIS' and KKK's growth, as the leaders of these groups have continually emphasized.

The writer of the letter says in his fourth paragraph that "the ruling class, for the past 20 years, has let up noticeably on the pushing of racist ideology." Other than asking the writer where he/she has been living for the past 20 years, I don't know how to respond to this point.

The writer argues that "the relative position of black workers in the US has improved over the past 20 years." Firstly, a narrowing of "10-15%" in the income gap is not very significant when the income gap is 100%. And using statistics for some two-year period, one can "prove" almost any trend one wants to prove. That is an old sleight-of-hand in economic analysis. But whatever has happened to black/white income gaps in the past 20 years (and it is different depending on whether one is talking about men or women, family or singles, actual workers or all workers, etc.) the story of the past few years is quite clear. According to the US Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, black males' income went from 57% of white in 1967 to 61% in 1972. Since 1972, black male income has been falling and by 1975 it was down to 60%. Furthermore, other parameters of black economic level have not changed or gotten worse in the past ten years: chronic unemployment, per cent below poverty level, percent of youth unemployed, etc. (**NYT** July 24, 1977, Sect. 4, p. 1). Although black family income rose to 64% of white family income during the 1960's, by 1973 it had fallen to 60% and it has been falling further since (**NYT** December 2, 1975, p. 39). Thus, contrary to the letter writer's assertion, there is most certainly "evidence of reversals of the trend" of improving relative economic position of black people during the 1960's.

What the letter writer does not seem to realize is

that the US ruling class must win over a fairly substantial black "judenrat" if it wants to enforce fascism in the US. It can **not** opt to exterminate blacks as the NAZIS exterminated Jews. Blacks are too important a part of the labor force, too important as cannon fodder, and too important as a living scapegoat, for the ruling class to try to kill them all off. The "ROOTS" phenomenon reflects this duality and ambivalence in the ruling class approach as do the activities of Andrew Young and other establishment blacks. I should say that the Party has pointed this out on numerous occasions (e.g. see "Really Digging 'Roots'." **PL**, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Feb.-Mar., 1978), pp. 52-59).

The writer then argues that affirmative action programs and the ruling class position on these programs is evidence that the ruling class "has been forced to respond to the just demands of minority workers." First, let us make it clear that all the affirmative action for the past ten years has barely made a dent in the statistics regarding the racial make-up of the US working class or professionals. Blacks and other minorities are still overwhelmingly and disproportionately represented in unskilled, menial occupations. The entrance of blacks and other minorities into the professions is quite small although politically important. Even this trend is being reversed, as the statistics on medical school admissions show. Affirmative action leveled off in the early 1970's, and is creeping downward now. Numerous recent court decisions have made it virtually impossible to prove discrimination in housing and school districting. The Bakke case is being used by the ruling class and the media to build racism. That is its main purpose. It doesn't matter from the point of view of the ruling class whether Bakke wins or loses. In fact, the ruling class would probably prefer that he win for reasons that I will state in the next paragraph.

Furthermore, because of various international and domestic ideological considerations, it is most probable that US fascism will present itself in a "democratic" garb. Note that Carter has been pushing the human rights issue. This is part of the anti-USSR rhetoric. The US ruling class must also consider its allies and the fact that it is trying to build ties with certain "revolutionary" nationalist forces, particularly in South Africa. The letter writer should not expect the ruling class to announce the arrival of fascism in the State of the Nation Address. Can you imagine: "We now inaugurate the revival of Hitlerism. Our first speaker is Ed Koch." No I am afraid that will hardly be the scenario. This does not mean the US fascism will not be extremely violent and repressive. It does mean that the rhetoric and the forms will have a flavor that is distinctly "Made in USA."

The writer next argues that there is a dual tendency in capitalist production, an "economic tendency" to equalize and democratize labor, i.e. an anti-racist, integrationist tendency so to speak; and a "political tendency," based on the need to divide and conquer, a racially and nationally and ethnically divisive tendency. Whatever the dialectics of the process are, and I don't have time to go into them here, the historical record is quite clear: MODERN RACISM, BIOLOGICAL DETERMINISM, WAS GIVEN BIRTH UNDER CAPITALISM AND HAS GROWN AND BEEN STRENGTHENED EVER SINCE. Mass RACIAL murder is a PRODUCT OF CAPITALISM, **analogies** to pre-capitalist horror stories notwithstanding. The **only** counter-trend in capitalist society has been the organized anti-racist struggle of progressive people based on the working class emancipation movement. In the past 100 years this struggle has been led by Marxists. At no time has the activity of the ruling class, per se, even when superficially responding to the anti-racist struggles of the working class and its allies, been anti-racist in content.

In conclusion, I would suggest that the letter writer read the articles in **PL** magazine, Vol. 11, No. 1 and other **PL** literature since Watergate. The Party's line on fascism in the US is based on an objective analysis of the development of US imperialism and not based on a selected list of "examples" of ruling class oppression and racism which exist in in all periods of history. Using the tools of Marxist historical analysis, we have tried to show that the US ruling class must move toward fascism as part of its preparation for World War III. Only we can transform this process into a struggle for socialist revolution. But to do that we must understand the nature of what we are fighting.

A PLP Member

EDITORIAL

Part one of this article was published in the last issue for discussion. Part II represents the line of P.L.P.

Revolutionary Violence

Two of the bigger myths promulgated by Nikita Khrushchov during the flowering of Soviet revisionism was that "war was no longer fatalistically inevitable," and that nuclear war would mean the end of the world. So, in one bold stroke, Khrushchov finished off Lenin's thesis that war between imperialists was inevitable because various imperialists were always contending for control of the world's markets and resources. Lenin pointed out that the constant redivision of the world by contending ruling classes inevitably leads to war.

Behind Khrushchov's attack on Leninism was the fact that the Soviet Union's new ruling class was entering a period of collusion with U.S. bosses. The Soviet leaders had to justify their withdrawal of support for workers around the world, and for anti-colonial movements which were challenging U.S. imperialism. At the time, the newly-entrenched Soviet rulers tried to panic workers and other oppressed people around the world into passivity. Khrushchov & Co. raised the spectre that revolution in countries dominated by U.S. imperialism could "spill over" and engulf the world.

Khrushchov then painted a grim picture of the "horrors" of nuclear war. A third world war, Khrushchov bellowed, would "leave the world in ashes." The Khrushchov line implied that no betrayal of workers was too big or too small as long as "peace" between the super-powers was secured. Khrushchov created the grand illusion that socialism would triumph over capitalism "by force of example." He predicted that, in short order, Soviet production would overtake

U.S. production. Logically, this development, as Khrushchov put it, would turn the Soviet Union into a giant Disney Land, a land of milk and honey! Workers of the world would gasp at the great achievements of the Soviet paradise. Consequently, workers world-wide would somehow or other opt for socialism in their own country because they would want to have something as peachy as existed in the Soviet Union.

REALITIES

Whether or not Khrushchov believed this pap is unimportant. What is important is what actually happened. With the complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union—which, if nothing else, meant the return of profits—the Soviet economic system gradually slowed down. The dynamic socialist growth of the original five-year plans ended. The restoration of profits, and a full-blown system of production based on material incentive, siphoned off billions of dollars of workers' efforts into private pockets instead of being reinvested in the economy.

Countless billions of dollars were drained from the economy. A system of production based on material, rather than political, incentives robbed the working class of funds necessary for rapid growth, **and the political will** needed to carry the fight for production out in a bolder fashion. This revisionist onslaught guaranteed Soviet inability to overcome its difficulty in farm production. Only hundreds of thousands of tractors and a collective socialist spirit could solve this long-standing problem. During the period of Stalin's leadership, it looked as if the Sovet Union would ultimately solve it. But after Stalin's death, the Soviets became dependent on U.S. and Canadian wheat to feed its population.

Faltering production, the failure to solve the agricultural question, and political losses outside the Soviet Union, manifested at that time by the ascendancy of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) as leader of the world's revolutionary forces, led to Khrushchov's being removed by other Soviet bosses. Then the CCP speculated that Khrushchov's removal might mean a turn to the Left by the new Soviet leadership. But instead the new leadership embarked on a full-blown imperialist policy designed to solve internal problems of the Soviet economy. As in any capitalist development, the capitalist looks beyond his own borders to make maximum profits. Their best method is exploitation of foreign labor and resources. But to become a successful imperialist in the world described by Lenin meant one would have to take away from existing imperialist domains, in as much as all areas of the world were already divided up. In the real world this meant, in the first place, challenging U.S. imperialism, which was the number one imperialist. U.S. bosses achieved this position by taking away possessions of other bosses whom they had beaten in World War Two, or who were left too weakened by that war to hang on to what they had.

Gradually, Khrushchov's notion that the Soviet Union would triumph "by example of its internal development" went out the window. The new Soviet hierarchy classically following Lenin's description, now aimed to defeat the U.S. by forcing a redivision of markets. But it was no longer a battle between two different classes based on ideological outlook; now it was the typical fight between two rival imperialists over who would dominate the world.

During the honeymoon period of Khrushchov,, there was relative calm with the U.S. bosses. But this honeymoon was short-lived. Perhaps U.S. bosses were lulled into believing that the world was their orchard, due to general passivity of the Soviet bosses during Khrushchov's short reign. However, the Soviet bosses showed in Vietnam that they would encourage break-aways from U.S. imperialism by force as long as the particular Soviet client followed the Soviet political lead. Gradually, the relations that had developed during the Khrushchov period between the U.S. and U.S.S.R., which was marked primarily by collusion, and secondarily by contradictions, shifted to its opposite. Presently, as spelled out in the last **PL Magazine** (Vol. 11, No. 2, Apr.-May 1978) relations between the Soviets and the U.S. bosses are marked primarily by antagonisms, and secondarily by collusion.

PACIFISM VS VIOLENCE

Quickly workers of the world are going to be forced to face squarely the question of nuclear war. The earlier Khrushchov warnings about the absolute horrors of nuclear war were echoed by most of the ruling class

A pitched battle between Bonus Army veterans of WWI and the Washington police, 1932.

in the U.S. These warnings gave a big boost to this nonsense. Pacifism became one of the big symbols for the dregs of the so-called radical movement in this country. Pacifism developed a large hold over many workers and others in this country. Tied closely to pacifism is the notion that "there's nothing we can do anyway, so why fight it—that's the system." In many workers' minds the myth exists that the world will be destroyed by nuclear war, and that once it starts nothing will stop it.

Pacifism robs the working class and others, of the one perspective which can finally eliminate war. Ironically, pacifism results in **more casualties** than does fighting back. Ruling classes encourage pacifism among workers, because it saps them of their will to fight the bosses. Ruling classes think nothing of mass terror, or other forms of mass destruction, in order to reap maximum profits and hold political power. Consider the millions of yearly victims of capitalism whose lives are squandered by the ruthless, profit-mad rulers in the U.S. today. Compile the daily abuses of the profit system such as racism, industrial "accidents," the callous poisoning of the air, the food, the clothing, etc., auto accidents, inevitable wars large and small, and countless other capitalist acts of barbarism. The total casualties are staggering. This monstrous system can never be defeated by passivity. The ruling class laughs all the way to their banks as a seemingly endless parade of religious people and assorted faddists, from flower children to millions of pot-heads, adopt pacifist forms of life styles as opposed to working class violence for socialist revolution.

For many years now, opportunists in the working class movement in the U.S., most notably the "Communist" Party, and the Socialist Workers Party, have endorsed the possibilities of the "peaceful transition to socialism." This is nonsense! The ruling class, while exterminating millions of lives each year at home and abroad, always advances the charade that "the way to go about making change is through the 'peaceful, democratic process.'"

Many fail to grasp that mass armed conflict between capitalist states is only one aspect of war. **Class war rages every minute**, and the casualties are large. Mass working-class violence for socialism is needed to topple the capitalist system. But this must be prepared and

preceeded by **daily** violence by the working class which is necessary to initiate serious resistance. Localized acts of working-class violence are necessary to win small victories; but, more importantly, **to generate the will of the workers which will eventually lead to larger mass conflict. An accumulation of smaller, militant, often violent actions, will lead to larger actions.**

The workers and their revolutionary party must overcome their ruling class-instilled fears of violence by constantly training themselves in all forms of combat. During the coal miner's strike this past winter, it was only mass violence by the miners which prevented a complete wipe-out of the miners' gains. The ruling class constantly propagandizes that workers should never resort to violence. Violence, the bosses claim, is "un-American." But without violence workers are fighting the bosses with both their hands and feet tied up. And violence without a revolutionary outlook cannot succeed, either. Violence in pursuit of reforms, even if mass violence, can succeed momentarily; but it presupposes that things can be straightened out by cosmetic changes. Obviously, workers and others who have suffered a belly-full of oppression, and resort to violence, are at least one leg up on the revolutionary process. It is among those workers who have proven their inclination toward violence that the best revolutionary forces and cadre will emerge.

Consequently, among those concepts that communists should constantly keep up front within the ranks of the working class is the need to resort to acts of violence—not at some distant magical time, but right now! Workers cannot stop the Nazis and the KKK with court injunctions or picket lines, however appropriate. Workers cannot stop scabs by singing "Solidarity Forever." Racism which wipes out countless lives, and therefore is violent to its core, cannot be smashed by praying and singing, "We Shall Overcome." One might say the more passive the response to ruling-class violence, the more violent the ruling class will become in its drive to save its sinking profits.

Many people still accept the false notion "that violence begets violence." We put forward the concept that "pacifism begets greater ruling-class violence." We suppose many lessons of history could be pointed out, but we will use the "Holocaust," because the TV soap opera about this serious subject is still fresh in people's minds. How many of the German Jews were saved by passivity? Eichmann, chief Nazi executioner for the German bosses and executioner of six million Jews, said that betrayal of Jews by some of their leaders and general passivity in the face of mass murder resulted in virtually total annihilation. Eichman said that without these forms of passivity, the Hitlerites never could have killed that amount of people. He estimated that the slightest forms of resistance would have meant saving THREE MILLION LIVES. The bourgeois writer Hannah Arendt agreed (**Eichmann in Jerusalem**).

Yes, passivity in the face of oppressive terror results in **greater** terror. Many millions of workers were killed during World War Two in the fight against Nazism. How many millions died because bourgeois ideas slowed or even stopped the fight against these beasts? Bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class is fatal.

Yet the hands of millions of workers are stilled or hesitant to take up the cudgels against the ruling class. In our own ranks pacifism has a powerful grip. Many workers are afraid of violence. They are fearful of becoming a casualty. Certainly, this is a legitimate concern. But again, this is just because of this point that the ruling class inflicts enormous casualties on us all the time, especially when we don't fight back. Even if this point is generally known, many are still fearful because, guided by individualism, they feel that somehow the bosses will "miss me," or maybe "they are not all that bad." Many realize the inevitability of bosses' terror. They realize that casualties are inherent in the class struggle. But they still hold back because they figure if they take up the cudgels sooner rather than later, they will be among the first wave of casualties.

One of the greatest distortions of revolutionary perspectives is to pervert the concept of a communist. Some people think communists are non-violent; or that violence is the "last resort," of the revolutionary. This outlook obscures the constant use of violence by the ruling class. It nullifies the tactical and strategic outlook of the revolutionary, which is to use violence whenever useful and appropriate.

EDITORIAL

COMMUNISTS AND VIOLENCE

Somehow or other many people have the idea that revolutionary struggle is a battle of ideas. While certainly it is that, **one of the most important ideas is the need for armed struggle.** Ideas, theories, etc. won't defeat capitalism. As long as these ideas remain benign, the ruling class will be satisfied. Only revolutionary ideas translated into **violent class battle** can triumph. In the last issue of **PL Magazine** we wrote of one of the fundamental aspects of the fight for socialism. The article, "Armed Insurrection For Socialism," sets forth a central aspect of the Marxist-Leninist arsenal. Too many people in and out of the revolutionary movement lose sight of this fundamental strategy. People get caught up in a welter of day-to-day activity for reforms. Because they do not place revolution-not-reform first and foremost in their work, the fight for this or that reform becomes dominant. Thus, workers come to view communists as reformers. Soon the concept of a serious revolutionary strategy becomes unknown to the workers. After all, without Marxist-Leninists why would workers formulate revolutionary strategy based on insurrection? As Lenin pointed out a long time ago, revolutionary strategy does not automatically grow out of reform struggle. He indicated that revolutionary strategy had to be brought into the ranks of the working class by communists.

'Fascism is the inevitable product of capitalism. It can be defeated only by Socialist revolution."

Lenin always opposed all concepts that claimed spontaneity could lead to revolutionary struggle.

Revolutionaries may think that advocating armed insurrection now is untimely and unwise. Or communists may think that we will tell it to workers when it becomes necessary. But it is more likely that communists who currently hide this strategy from the working class will soon forget it themselves, because they are not in serious ideological struggle with other workers to win them to a revolutionary outlook. One of the first questions a worker will ask when told about the glories of socialism is "I agree, how can we get it?" Obviously many workers will not instantly jump through hoops when they are told that bosses will never surrender power voluntarily, and that it must be taken from them violently. But it does launch the ideological struggle. Or at least it starts to raise consciousness, away from reform towards revolution.

UNITE WITH 'GOOD' BOSSES, OR WIPE THEM ALL OUT?

Another tangent of the pacifist perspective is to unite with your oppressor to stop terror—fascism. As the ruling class is forced to develop more open forms of mass terror in order to suppress the working class and to hold power, communists in the past have sought out contradictions within the ruling class. As long ago as the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in 1935 the communist movement in the person of Dimitroff postulated that one section of a ruling class might be better than another. Therefore, workers could unite with the "less evil" section to stop the more oppressive wing.

Now even if it were true that, for tactical reasons, one section of the bosses was opposed to full-blown fascism at a given time, it would be foolhardy to unite with these bosses. Ultimately the ruling class can only hold power through force. There are always tactical differences within the ruling class. But there is always **strategic** unity. The basis for this strategic unity is simple enough: maintain political power at all costs. This means that any wing of the ruling class, any clique of the ruling class, any faction of the ruling class is as ruthless, as racist, as anti-worker, as anti-communist as any other. We should never delude ourselves or the workers into thinking that one group of bosses is better than another. Basically, tactical differences arise between bosses depending upon which group of bosses controls the state apparatus. This type of division flows from the competition between bosses over who will control the profits. Consequently, those who control the state—the government—have an important tactical edge in determining the control of profits. This formula is true

when it operates between capitalists in a given country; or when it manifests itself between local bosses (nationalists) and outside capitalists (imperialists).

Watergate was an example of how different factions in the U.S. ruling class fought for control of the economy and state power. The situation in Canada is an example of how different wings in the Canadian ruling class, in alliances with outside imperialists from the U.S. and France, are embroiled in a conflict for control of the Canadian economy. The French-speaking bosses of Quebec are fighting with the English-speaking bosses of Ontario and other provinces. This is a typical nationalist power struggle, each side trying to line up workers in their area by using racism in English-speaking Canada, and nationalism in French-speaking Canada.

People get confused when the different toadies of the bosses in the labor movement or in boss-organized formations utter anti-fascist sentiments. These leaders simply reflect the contradictions which exist between their bosses. Workers can never ally with these bosses' puppets who pose as friends of the working class. What major union leader in the U.S. today could seriously pass muster as a friend of the working class? The labor leadership and all the major leaders of all the other mass organizations are enemies of the workers. **They can never be trusted!**

This is easily demonstrated when the day-to-day record of these leaders is examined. Trade union leaders, for example, do not represent workers. They only represent the interests of the bosses. The bosses need these leaders to maintain the illusion that workers have some say over their day-to-day affairs. But, in fact, these leaders are necessary to the bosses to keep workers chained to the ruling class. And, as this or that leader becomes exposed to the workers they are supposed to be representing, the bosses dump them, and install a new leader with a more liberal image. This was the case, for example, in the coal industry, when the thoroughly discredited Tony Boyle was dropped by the bosses for the impotent Miller. Now that Miller is becoming exposed, other labor leaders from steel and auto have poured millions into Miller's coffers, not to help the fighting miners (as they would love to have us believe), but to keep Miller in power. If Miller were dumped, this would threaten all the other union leaders because it would give workers in the industries they control big ideas.

In brief, the concept of united front to defeat racism, as generally understood, is wrong and harmful. There is no basis for this unity, for it pre-supposes at least two things. First, that one boss or bosses' toady is better than another bunch. And secondly—most important—it covers up the fact that **fascism is inherently necessary for the capitalist class as a whole.** It creates the big myth that fascism can be defeated in unity with those who sooner or later will need fascism. Historically, and in the future, forces in the ruling class will only unite with communists if the latter drop their central demand of socialism. Fascism is the inevitable product of capitalism. It can be defeated only by socialist revolution.

WHO TO UNITE WITH

The basis for unity within the mass movement between communists and non-communists must be that the mass movement be under the leadership of the communist party. The bottom line for this unity must be anti-racism. Racism is one of the leading wedges driven into the heart of the working class, not simply to run up huge profits, which it does, but to divide the workers, and weaken their ability to fight fascism. This means that a combination of communists and militant anti-racists must fight for the leadership of the working class. Communists should build their own mass organizations. Communists should fight to lead the unions, not only around a militant line on economic issues, but around a revolutionary socialist line. Communists must prepare the workers to destroy capitalism. No united front of "whoevers" and "whatevers" is going to organize the workers around this line; only revolutionaries will do that.

Communists must shed once and for all the illusion that nice liberals will fight fascism around the line of the ruling class (save capitalism). Generally speaking, liberals help to usher in fascism by creating all types of illusions that capitalism is "just" and "democratic." Liberals love to claim that if bad things are happening it is simply because "bad people" are in leadership. If this sort of

logic was adhered to, it would have placed revolutionaries in alliance with the Rockefeller forces during the Watergate fight.

One aspect of the tactical difference in the ruling class at that time was that the smaller fish, centered around the Nixon Administration, were moving for control over police powers to suppress their rivals in the ruling class and to step up the attack on anti-war forces. The "communist" party in this country hailed the defeat of the Nixon crew as "a big victory for democracy." Interestingly enough, this nonsense has wide currency. This line was enunciated during the last "Oscar" awards by none other than Vanessa Redgrave, who also claimed that the forces of fascism were defeated during the Watergate period. This leading British Trotskyite was putting forward the same line as the revisionists in this country—in sum, creating the illusion that the dominant (Rockefeller) section of the ruling class is opposed to fascism. But it is precisely this wing of the ruling class which is moving to fascism in order to save its sagging profit empire.

When we say that communists and militant anti-racists should build the mass movement under communist leadership, this does not exclude vital mass work within right-led organizations which contain millions of workers. It may take an extended period before these workers are won away from bourgeois leadership and take communist leadership into their own hands. All revolutionaries must work in these organizations, particularly the unions. Communist leadership must be won or new organizations under communist leadership must be built.

The paramount goal of all our work is to build the party. The party, ultimately, must lead the bulk of the working class and other sections of the population. This central goal—which sounds overly simple—is one that must be embedded in our minds and actions. Only the communists—our party—can successfully lead the working class in battle to smash war and fascism. This can only be done by fighting for socialism.

We must make clear to workers and others that the only way to end war is to defeat capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Millions of people are afraid of war. But being afraid of war won't end war. Looking the other way won't cause the war to pass you by. Singing songs about the horrors of war won't make war go away. Praying to the almighty—wherever it may be—won't stop war. Going up in a cloud of pot smoke, or crawling into a bottle of booze, won't make war disappear. **War is a component part of capitalism. Understanding this is the first step toward ending war.** War can only be defeated by revolutionary violence. If the revolutionary battle is successful, **casualties to the working class and its allies will be far less than to leave society in the hands of the ruling class.**

WHO LOVES THE WORKERS, BOSSES OR COMMUNISTS?

One of the big charges against revolutionaries is that "they don't care about people." This—the biggest lie, bigger than Goebbels ever told—is sick coming from the mouths of the ruling classes, who have systematically destroyed hundreds of millions of lives in the past century. These animals love to turn truth upside down in order to obscure their actual role: the methodical destruction of lives by war, by poverty, by racism, by all forms of pollution, by the stifling of science, by a drug-infested culture based on filth and smut, by a culture that is stepped in petty individualism, selfishness and mysticism. The bourgeoisie teaches people everything but humaneness. It teaches workers to accept misery, brutality, sordidness and oppression. And, as we indicated before, they want us on the one hand to accept war, and on the other to feel a sense of hopelessness that nuclear war will end humanity.

But perhaps the biggest myth of the ruling class is their pose of being "anti-war." Their endless "peace" conferences, "peace" missions, etc., merely point up the fact that war preparations are going on. It means war is closer. These conferences are designed to lull people away from organizing to fight back. They give the impression that the bosses "are doing what they can for peace." The bosses are doing what they can for war! The hundreds of billions of dollars being spent for wars and war preparations is being done not for our benefit, as the ruling class claims, but for the protection of their profit system.

The fact is that the ruling class has a

One of the many thousands of demonstrations against the Vietnam War.

two-pronged strategy to organize workers and others for war. One aspect is to instill fear of war within the working class. This serves various purposes. It creates the illusion that the ruling class hates war also; that the rulers seriously look for solutions other than war in order to save their profits. The aim of this policy is to head off movements that challenge the system. Consequently the ruling class can then pose as being in accord with these anti-war movements and even lead them openly. After all, "aren't we for peace as much as you? Aren't we striving mightily for the very same thing as you? And because we are in power, our efforts are decisive, but they are bolstered by your actions."

Thus, the ruling class tries to co-opt what is basically anti-imperialist sentiment. This was pretty much the case during the Vietnam War. The U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam was so blatant that quickly a huge anti-war movement formed. Within the Army itself, composed mainly of workers, morale was "lower than low" as the soldiers largely recognized the nature of the imperialist war. However, because communists could not win the leadership of this huge movement, it could never stop endless war preparations and imperialist wars. The anti-war movement in an earlier period was under the leadership of fake radicals and "communists." Later, the anti-war movement came under the direct leadership of the main section of the ruling class.

The ruling class wants workers and others to view its preparations for war as peace moves; similarly various diplomatic efforts are always couched in terms of "seeking peace." These diplomatic efforts, like their military ones, are aimed at bolstering the bosses' tactical circumstances. Additionally, the contending ruling classes try to use these "peace negotiations" to create

ground-rules which might limit mutual destruction. However, this type of effort will collapse as the stakes and the weaponry to protect these enormous stakes grow exceedingly high.

The other aspect of the dual strategy by the ruling class to organize workers for war, which seems to be contradictory to their mouthings about their "love" and "concern for peace," is to develop jingoism, patriotism. The bosses whip up fear of an outside enemy who is alien to the needs of the country's working class, in order to create a war-oriented mentality which is necessary in the event of war. The ruling class must win workers to politically support their efforts. Without a politically reliable army, the bosses' efforts at war are doomed. Vietnam, at least, taught them that.

Thus, the ruling class must walk on both sides of the street to secure their interests. On the one hand, they must head off a revolutionary movement—which can actually **stop** war—by posing as "anti-war," etc. Parading as "lovers of peace and beauty" help them develop political credits among the workers so they can win them to fight for the bosses' interests. ("Well, we tried to make peace, but 'they' won't let us.") Both ruling class tactics to build for war, which seem contradictory, are actually inter-related and necessary for them in order to win the political struggle within the working class and other sections of the population. Pacifism and jingoism are two sides of the same coin. It is a marriage made in hell.

ATOMIC WAR - THE END? OR BEGINNING?

When and if full-scale nuclear war breaks out between the U.S. and the Soviets, including their respective vassals, it will not mean the end of the world. Neither will it mean the end of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, although this is where a lion's share of the damage will occur. **The respective damage to the U.S. and the Soviet Union, to Western Europe and Japan will depend on the class forces under revolutionary leadership.** If revolutionary leadership has a large base, then the murderous ruling class will be more quickly disarmed and crushed. Obviously, this crucial development will determine the number of casualties and amount of damage in nuclear war.

"It's inaccurate thinking to say that the use of nuclear weapons would be the end of the human race."

—National Security Advisor Brzezinski, to Elizabeth Drew, in **The New Yorker,** May 1, 1978.

However, we should realize that the world is much larger than the U.S. and the Soviet Union, including their most loyal vassals, While the tentacles of these two octopi stretch over all continents, their ability to inflict constant nuclear damage all over the world is limited both by their own abilities, and by certain revolutionary developments in the class struggle internationally.

It is quite conceivable that large portions of the globe will never be touched by nuclear war While it is difficult to speculate on all developments in the event of global warfare, it is safe to say that this kind of war will give rise to fantastic revolutionary energies. Nuclear war may, in fact, unleash vaster energies than it can wipe out. While nuclear war may be very destructive, it can unleash such forceful revolutionary energies that

nuclear war, and war itself, may be wiped out forever.

After the U.S. atomic bombing of Japan, near the close of World War Two, the flames of revolution spread faster and further. The atomic bombing of Japan by the U.S. killer ruling class was intended as a warning to the Soviet Union led by Stalin, and to the Chinese communists as well. The imperialists were saying that the socialist revolution had gone far enough. But what happened? The Soviets spread their influence and control all the way through Eastern Europe, and probably could have engulfed most of Western Europe as well. Czechoslovakia fell. How far behind were Italy and France? In Asia, the Chinese communists led by Mao toppled the Kuomintang. At that time, over one billion people lived under the red flag. Socialism wasn't halted by the A-bomb. **Socialism was reversed by capitalist ideology which was never fully wiped out of the communist movement!**

Obviously, atomic war was no deterrent to revolutionary action. On the contrary, events proved that it momentarily **accelerated** revolutionary action.

Workers of the world will learn this lesson well. It is not the bomb which is the big danger, but rather bourgeois ideas in the ranks of the working class and its communist vanguard.

But what about the physical effects of the bomb itself? Well, there isn't that much to go on. The A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the U.S. bosses was bad enough. But life in these cities didn't end. Today both cities have rereplenished their human and physical resources. The scars of the bombing are deep. These horrors created by imperialism will not end by vigils with candles and protestations of the horrors of war. Remember, it was imperialists, not communists, who used A-bombs against workers. It can only be revolutionary violence by workers against imperialists which can end these nightmares. Again, it is not the workers of the world who are feverishly spending hundreds of billions for nuclear war. It is the imperialists who are doing it. Only workers led by communists can snuff out these monsters who will kill, kill, kill and kill some more workers in order to make money.

It is true that today's nuclear weapons are more powerful than those used against Japanese workers. But there is some evidence that these weapons have limits. There is no exact comparison to make between the use of atomic weapons and their relative destruction. But a few other points might be noted in addition to the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War Two.

During the fifties, the U.S. conducted H-bombings of the Bikini Atolls, small islands in the Pacific. One purpose of the bombings was not only to determine their immediate destructive potential, but also to get an idea about their permanent effect on the life of the island. The civilian population was removed by the U.S.

After the bombings, the island didn't sink into the sea, as some expected. Within a few years animal and plant life returned to a more vigorous level. Some years later the U.S. returned the civilian population. It was only recently that the population was again evacuated because the radiation level was higher than normal. However, the island was never destroyed, and after awhile it appeared that the radiation level was acceptable for human and plant life. (Of course, the uprooting and complete disruption of the lives of the inhabitants of these atolls, in itself, is another example of the utter disregard of U.S. imperialist bosses for human life. These people didn't leave out of choice but because of the need of U.S. imperialism to use them and their land as guinea pigs in attempting to determine whether living things can be destroyed by the bosses' weaponry.)

During the Vietnamese War, more bombs were dropped by the U.S. than during the entire period of WW II. While this enormous pounding was serious and deadly, the fact remains that life in Vietnam went on. And it went on to such an extent that the workers and peasants of Vietnam were finally able to defeat the U.S., bombs and all. Many analysts conclude that it was the massive U.S. bombings which convinced millions of Vietnamese, as well as others, of the true nature of U.S. imperialism. The bombings became a big organizer against U.S. military efforts.

To date, there are no serious examples which prove that massive bombings stopped life. This includes the allied bombing of Germany during WW II. In his book **Fear, War, and the Bomb,** Blackwell (a Nobel Prize-winner and British military planner during WW II), proved that by the end of WW II Germany was

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producing **more** war material than at the beginning of the war! It was only the occupation of Germany by Soviet troops, and others that crushed the German war effort.

Finally, there is no reason to believe that the U.S. and Soviet killers can succeed in bombing the entire world. Their biggest problem is going to be holding power in their own countries from enraged workers.

Imperialism will never wipe out the world! It does not have the physical nor the political ability. Workers of the world will never be won to wiping themselves out for imperialist interests. Imperialist wars are against workers' interests. The war in Vietnam showed the depth of hatred that workers have for bosses' wars. Now the job is to win these workers **politically**, so they can crush the only thing which makes war possible—capitalism. Illusions must be smashed forever that any capitalist, any form of capitalism, is capable of maintaining peace and advancing workers' interests.

WHO WILL WIN!

As communists we have the strategic advantage over the ruling class in the battle for political leadership of the working class. The fact of the matter is that we cannot lose. This is not boasting or "religious" conviction. This estimate is based on objective reality! The reality is simple enough. Only the ruling class oppresses workers in every conceivable form. Revolutionaries counter all these abuses. We offer a political solution to these abuses—Socialism! The communist trategy is simple enough; crush ruling class rule and replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The bosses only have the tactical intiative. For centuries they have developed what we call bourgeois ideology. The ruling class holds state power. This means they control the ideas that are presented moment by moment to the masses. Naturally they control the police, courts, army—all the arms of state power. However, the army, which is its primary force for extending its power abroad and at home, is composed of workers. They are objectively, and often subjectively, pitted against the system. This means that the bosses are very vulnerable! The army can become the "Achilles heel" of capitalism.

They are their own "grave-diggers," as Marx pointed out. Bosses have created an industrial proletariat which is crucial to them. Not only do they make up the army but these workers' labor is the source of the ruling classes' wealth. So the bosses' tactical advantage can be turned against them because everything—**everything**—that the bosses do is against the workers' needs and aspirations. This is an insoluble contradiction. No hocus pocus, no"new marxism," "old marxism," or whatever guise bourgeois ideology parades behind can ever negate this primary fact of life—the class struggle.

In order to eliminate the tactical edge the ruling class has in the fight for political struggle with the workers, we must fully understand the primary thing —that **we have the strategic advantage.** This means, among other things, that we must have complete confidence in the working class. The working class is the revolutionary class because, as the Communist manifesto makes strikingly clear, "they have nothing to lose but their chains." Revolution is the inevitable consequence of the class struggle! At what point this revolution occurs has a very subjective aspect to it. The sooner the communists have a base among the workers, the sooner the objective and subjective situations merge, and the revolution takes place.

In specific terms, this means applying our line vigorously **now**! We know that it is crucial, in order to defeat war and fascism. Also, we know that our line must take root. The soil has been prepared for

us by good gardeners—the ruling class. Their daisies cannot keep flowering. They pour vinegar on the soil, and we pour water. We must take the tactical initiative among workers right now! We must switch over to the offensive now! We can do this, because only our ideas can liberate the working class from capitalist oppression. Is this not sufficient reward?

The work we carry out today is going to influence what happens tomorrow. Every leaflet, every meeting, every paper sale, every action for socialism now will determine the ability of the ruling class to make war and fascism. It can determine how long and how many casualties the ruling class can continue to inflict.

But the best way to develop and win the ideological struggle among workers is **to know them well.** While leaflets, battles, meetings—all the trappings of political life—are important, they are secondary to knowing workers, and others well. These relationships are **fundamental** in developing tactics which will become more necessary to us as the ruling class creates a higher degree of fascist activity. Without a political base it will be much more difficult to build a secure and effective revolutionary movement. Our party must be capable of putting our line forward under different circumstances. This cannot be done without very close political relationships. Political phantoms do not make good revolutionaries. And, if we are forced to work among workers who do not happen to know us well, they will react to us based on the knowledge of our party. Workers will judge us by the actions of our party, in particular and in general.

Workers can understand the dialectical category of likeness and difference. Our party in general must be known for our deep confidence in the working class and our dedication to revolution. Every worker will come to understand this is what our party members are all about. So, the base one builds is not just for one's self but for the party as a whole.

In the event of war, nuclear war, solid political bases will off-set the loss in communications, and counter a million and one other problems. It will be the ruling class which has no base. Millions of workers will hate them for the destruction they have unleashed on workers at home, and elsewhere. The ruling class will be huddled in its bunkers, separated from the real world. Isolated and terrified of workers, they will be dug out of their squirrel holes and wiped out forever. Remember, it is they who will be completely isolated. We can have the political base. This is what will determine victory or defeat, not this bomb or that weapon. We will get these things, because we made them, and other workers have them. All workers will join together, from many lands, because the threat of allowing imperialism and its lackies to continue will become transparently absurd, suicidal. Workers the world over are not self-defeating; they are winners!

"At what point this revolution occurs has a very subjective aspect to it. The sooner the communists have a base among the workers, the sooner the objective and subjective situations merge, and the revolution takes place."

Start this moment to whole-heartedly put confidence in the working class into command. Increase ideological struggle with our base. Do not take "no" for an answer when you ask another worker or student to join. Better to hear a lot of "no's" or "I want to think about joining the party some more," than to venture into more idle speculation about this or that worker's "readiness." Get it from their mouths. This means that we are entering into more political struggle. We are bound to win, as capitalist life proves its inability to function.

Every worker who joins the party now means that the dangers from war and fascism are less. It means more lives saved. Every worker who joins the party, NOW means we are that much closer to socialism. Every worker who joins the party now means that we can enrich our tactics and strategy so we can win sooner. Only the ruling class is opposed to our party's growth. Why make them happy? ☆

"The best way to develop and win the ideological struggle among workers is to know them well. While leaflets, battles, meetings—all the trappings of political life—are important, they are secondary to knowing workers and others well."

Bolshevism vs. Reformism

Historical Perspective

O. PYATNITSKY

Pyatnitsky's real name was Iosif Aronovich Tarshis. Son of a Lithuanian carpenter (b. 1882) Pyatnitsky became a tailor and worked in dressmakers' and tailors' shops while organizing in a tailor's union. He formally joined the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in 1900, at the age of 18, and, with Lenin, split to form the Bolsheviks in 1903. From 1903 until June 1914 he worked in the illegal Bolshevik underground in Russia, along with other working-class Bolshevik revolutionaries like Stalin. He was arrested in June, 1914 during the Bolshevik-led general strike movement and was exiled to Siberia. At the time this essay was written (1932) Pyatnitsky was a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b), of the Executive Committee, the Presidium, and the Political Secretariat of the Third Communist International (Comintern).

At the VII Comintern Congress in 1935 Pyatnitsky together with other Comintern leaders who had long been identified with the correct line of "social fascism"—no united front with the social-democrats or liberal ruling-class forces—was removed from leadership in the Comintern. A few years later the Comintern was disbanded.

Pyatnitsky was executed during the class struggles in the Soviet Union during the 1930s, reportedly in 1939. Biographical works published by the revisionist leadership of the U.S.S.R. today (e.g. VI. Dmitrevsky, "Pyatnitsky," Moscow, 1971) refuse to discuss the accusations made against him or the reasons for his death. Probably the present-day revisionists, all of whom rose to prominence in the late 1930s, had something to do with his death. It was probably due to Pyatnitsky's long-standing internationalism, however, since the CPSU turned increasingly towards bourgeois nationalism after 1935. See the PLP National Committee statement, "Road to Revolution III" (available as a special issue of PL Magazine, 25 cents) and "The Seventh Comintern Congress and The United Front Against Fascism," in PL Magazine, Vol. 8, No. 3, November, 1971, pp. 72-82; availbale from the Editors of PL, 50 cents).

by Osip Pyatnitsky

The essay reprinted below was originally written in 1932 by Osip Pyatnitsky, a leading figure and spokesman for the Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Union and the Communist International, or "Comintern".

This essay makes a number of points which are as important for us to study today as they were for the International Communist movement in 1932. Among the most important for us are:

1. The primary importance of BASEBUILDING.

The Comintern stressed the need for close ties with the workers in the factories. Only such close ties could make the communist party's agitation, propaganda, leadership, etc. effective and bring about a revolution. Without a base in the industrial working class the communist party cannot win.

2. The need to see communist work as essentially illegal work.

Pyatnitsky stresses that the communist party's work in the factories is essentially illegal even where the party itself —as in the USA both then and now—is for the time being "legal," i.e. can publish openly, hold marches, obtain permits, etc.

The Bolsheviks under Lenin fought for the organization of illegal work, even when they were legal and making great gains in union elections and other kinds of legal work. According to an "Okhrana" (Tsar's secret political police) report, Lenin said in 1914:

> Our victory...is great. The press, the (workers') insurance campaign, the trade unions, and the societies of enlightenment, all this is ours. But this victory has its limits...If we want to hold our positions and not allow the strengthening labor movement to escape the party's sway...we must strengthen, come what may, our underground organizations. We can give up a portion of the work in the State Duma (Parliament) which we have conducted so successfully to date, but it is imperative that we put to right the work outside the Duma (i.e. the illegal work).

Four months later World War I began and all "legal" communist and even trade-union work was ended by massive police raids and arrests. Only the illegal work remained.

The Communist party is not primarily an "institution" with offices, meetings, bank accounts, a newspaper, etc. etc. The communist party is primarily illegal. All the "institutional" superstructure can be destroyed by the ruling class overnight. And this **will** happen.

Pyatnitsky stresses the connection between illegal work and basebuilding. Without a base in the factories, no illegal work is possible. So, under repression, there would be no party. A communist party cannot exist without a base in the working class.

3. Industrial Concentration.

The communist party must be organized in the factories, on the job.

4. The need to overcome Reformism within the communist party.

At that time the reformist influence mainly came from the origins of most communist parties in the earlier Social-Democratic parties of the Second International. All these parties, except for the Bolsheviks, relied mainly upon legal, reform work. As a result they became rotten supporters of the bourgeoisie and reformers at best. The American, French, British, German, and other communist parties arose as splits of the left wing within the sellout Social-Democratic parties. But they brought much of their reformist style of work with them.

Today the reformism in our work is traceable to PLP's origins as a split from the revisionist and reformist Communist movement. Study of this essay should be helpful in putting "Reform and Revolution" and "Armed Insurrection" into our practice. See **PL**, Vol. 11, No. 2 (April-May 1978), "Armed Insurrection," pp. 7-20; and "Reform and Revolution," pp. 36-52.

We must become skilled at making revolution primary over reform in our work, while not neglecting the details of reform work. All this while operating as an essentially illegal party. Again, none of this is possible without a base in the working class—without basebuilding.

There are some differences between our line and that of the Comintern and the CPSU(b) in 1932, as reflected in this essay. PLP has abandoned as fundamentally incorrect the tactic of "united front from above" which Pyatnitsky accepts in this essay. This tactic was advocated even by Lenin (e.g. in **Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder**). But it is impossible to engage in this kind of "united front" with revisionists or liberal ruling-class groups without abandoning the independent communist line. PLP also believes that the fight against racism was not stressed enough by the Comintern. Nor was nationalism recognized as a 100% bourgeois concept. These were all great weaknesses within the communist movement at the time, and led to that movement's turning into its opposite.

However—in case anyone should wonder—PLP heartily and completely agrees with Pyatnitsky's, and Stalin's, attack upon the Social Democrats, the liberals and phony "socialists," as Social-Fascists, as the viper in the bosom of the working class, as forces **never** to ally with under any circumstances.

In short: many of the problems of the Communist movement in the early 1930's were the same as ours today, and are deeply rooted in the history of the communist movement, of which PLP is a part. At the VII Comintern Congress in 1935 the Comintern turned sharply to the right, advocating United Fronts with the Social-Dems and open liberal bourgeois forces, and abandoning the fight for revolution, for Communist factory cells, and ultimately just about everything else, including the Comintern itself. PLP believes that we should build upon what is positive in the history of the communist movement and the great Bolshevik Party, and move ahead. Please send in your comments and criticisms.

Mass meeting in St. Petersburg Railway shops, 1917

THE XI Plenum of the E.C.C.I. recorded the fact that the sections of the Comintern in the capitalist countries lag behind the rise of the revolutionary labour and peasant movement.

Since the XI Plenum of the E.C.C.I. a year has passed, a period sufficient for drawing some conclusions. Has this backwardness been liquidated?

The last three quarters of 1931 and the first quarter of 1932 brought a sharp deterioration of the conditions of the toiling masses, of the workers and of the poor and middle peasant masses. The Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties and the reformist trade union bureaucracy which still have a large following among the workers and employees, have long completely deserted to the side of the bourgeoisie and have been daily betraying the interests of the working class. During this period the revolutionary labour and peasant movement did not subside while in some countries (Spain, Poland, Czechoslovakia, China, Japan, India, America, France) it even continued on the up-grade, yet in the principal imperialist countries (England, America, Germany, France) the Communist Parties are just as backward as they were before the XI Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Each country has its objective causes to explain this backwardness. This does not mean, however, that the backwardness is not due in a very large measure to the subjective factor—the failure to utilise the discontent of the great masses of the toilers with the lowering of the living standards, with unemployment, starvation, the burden of taxation, the actions of the Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties and reformist trade union bureaucracy.

How are we to explain this failure to capture the working masses from the Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties and the reformists, and to consolidate, organise and keep those workers who

joined the Communist Parties and revolutionary trade union movements of the capitalist countries?

It is due mainly to the Social-Democratic and reformist traditions, prevailing in every field of party and trade union work, which are deeply-rooted in the Communist Parties, red trade unions and trade union oppositions.

By contrasting the Bolshevist and the Social-Democratic methods of mass work, organisational forms, estimations of the current situation and tactics, we shall show that the sections of the Comintern in the capitalist countries took over and preserved a good deal of the practices of the Social-Democratic Parties.

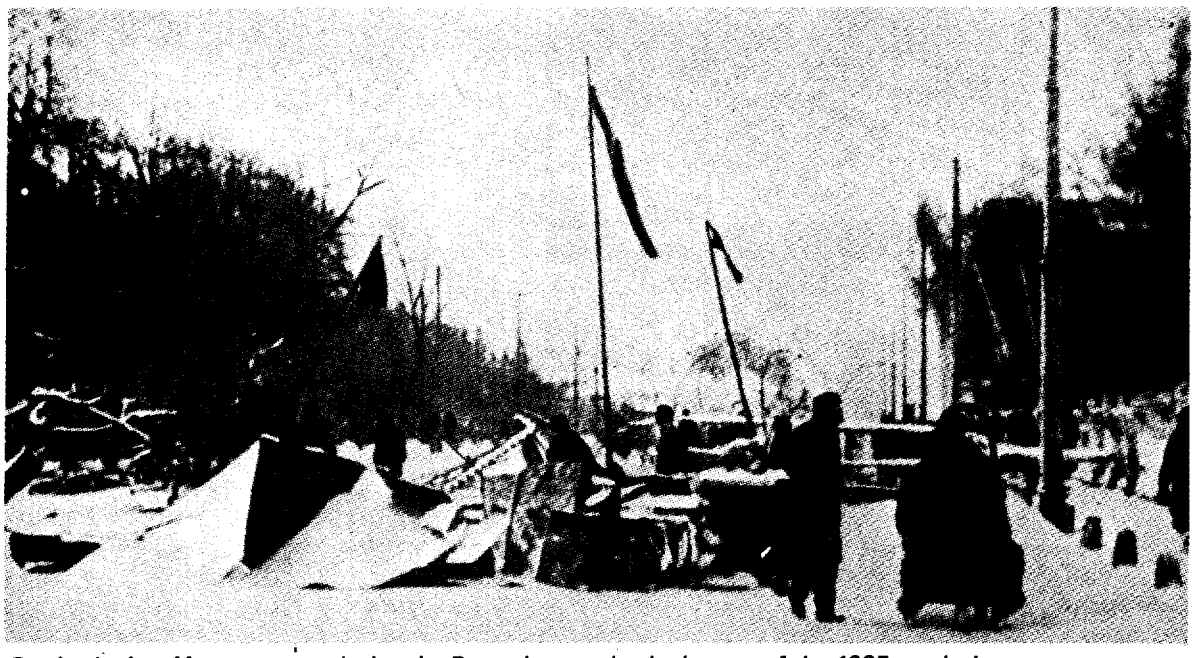
Czarist Russia was dominated by an antocracy, by a feudal-landlord clique. Not only the position of the workers, but also that of the peasants was unbearable. The entire petty bourgeoisie (and even the liberal bourgeoisie) were discontented with the autocracy. (This, by the way, explains the extensive participation of the intelligentsia and students in the revolutionary movement against the autocracy in 1905.) Russia, as the events of 1905 proved, was heading for a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Comrade Lenin wrote in March, 1905, on this question as follows: "The objective course of events has confronted the Russian proletariat precisely with the task of a democratic-bourgeois revolution... The same task confronts the whole nation, i.e., the entire mass of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry; without such a revolution any more or less extensive development of an independent class organisation aiming at a Socialist revolution is unthinkable." ("The Revolutionary Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry," Volume VI, Page 136, First Edition.)

This period of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions had already been passed in the 90's by the principal countries abroad. The bourgeois-democratic revolutions there were made, under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, by the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie with no revolutionary labour parties in existence.

The Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties which already existed as mass parties in the principal countries abroad in the 90's, adapted themselves to the existing regimes and legislations. Before the world war, the political struggle conducted by the Social-Democratic Parties was a struggle for reforms in the field of social legislation and for universal suffrage, the struggle itself being carried on chiefly by means of the ballot.

While in words they did not reject the ultimate goal of the struggle of the proletariat, Socialism, in reality they did nothing of a serious and practical character to prepare for and wage the revolutionary battles, to train for this purpose the necessary cadres, to give the party organisations a revolutionary policy, to break through bourgeois legality in the process of the struggle. The entire policy of the Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties resolved itself into securing through universal, equal suffrage, etc., a parliamentary majority, in order then to "inaugurate Socialism." Attempts at such adaptation, which met with resolute resistance on the part of the illegal Bolshevist Party, found an expression in Russia as well among the Menshevik liquidators (and Trotsky) who proclaimed the Stolypin regime a bourgeois one, and sought to adjust themselves to it by taking up legal activities, and fighting for reforms after the model of the West-European Socialist Parties.

Members of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Soviet of deputies in 1905



Barricades in a Moscow street during the December revolt, the last act of the 1905 revolution.

The Mensheviks ignored the fact that the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution remained unsolved after the 1905 revolution as well.

The role of the trade unions in the West was deliberately restricted to that of a subsidiary organisation of the great working masses protecting nothing but the daily, even if important, economic interests of the working class without pursuing the aim of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. They left the entire field of "pure" politics to the political party. They had no other aims except to negotiate collective agreements and conduct economic strikes. Even more reformist was the role of the workers' co-operatives. The trade unions sometimes found themselves in conflict even with the Social-Democratic Parties on the question of the calling of political strikes and revolutionary holidays, while the co-operatives clashed with the trade unions seeking aid from the workers' co-operatives during economic strikes. It was for this reason that the foreign Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties regarded Bernstein's revision of the fundamental principles of Marxism so tolerantly, without even thinking of a split, despite the fact that certain Social-Democratic Parties passed resolutions against the opportunists, revisionists, and reformists, for the whole work of the Social-Democratic Parties and the Labour organisations led by them, was permeated in practice with Bernsteinism.

The situation in Czarist Russia was quite different. During the 90's there existed in every city, particularly in the industrial centres of the former Russian Empire, not only groups of populists but also groups and organisations of Social-Democrats. From their very inception there existed among them opposing tendencies, * Bundists, with their demand for cultural-national autonomy, who adhered to the "Economists," Revolutionary Social-Democrats, ordinary Social-Democrats—a swamp which swung both ways. The Social-Democratic newspaper, "Iskra," which was published by the revolutionary Social-Democrats headed by Comrade Lenin, opened from the very outset a struggle against all deviations from Marxism in general, and against Economism-- in particular.

Lenin and the revolutionary "Iskrists" who gained a majority at the second congress of the Party (the Bolsheviks) continued in their subsequent activities to follow the revolutionary Social-Democratic line of the old "Iskra." In a tireless struggle against Menshevism, liquidationism, Trotskism, the right deviation, opportunism in practice, sectarianism, consiliationism within the Party, and all deviations from the Party line, in the name of the capture, maintenance and consolidation of the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, in a heroic revolutionary struggle against the Czarist

* See "What is to be done." N. Lenin.

autocracy, in a relentless struggle against the liberal bourgeoisie which was prepared to compromise with the Czarist autocracy and sought to deflect the Russian revolution on to the "Prussian road," in a struggle against the entire capitalist system, at all the stages of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the Bolshevist Party, headed by Lenin, forged the Bolshevist strategy and tactics, the methods of mass work, the organisational principles and the Bolshevist Party structure. The Bolsheviks in Russia, unlike the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, did not have to overcome the old, deep-rooted opportunist and reformist traditions in the policy, organisation and methods of their work. Besides, the Bolsheviks carefully studied and learned the lessons of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions, the role of the liberal bourgeoisie in them, rejected the weak points of the theory, programme and practice of the Western Social-Democratic Parties and mass labour organisations and absorbed the good elements.

THE CONDITIONS PREVAILING IN CZARIST RUSSIA AND ABROAD WHEN THE BOLSHEVIST PARTY WAS ORGANISED IN RUSSIA AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IN THE WEST

Up to 1905 there were no legal parties in Czarist Russia. Even the liberal bourgeoisie were forced to publish their printed party organ, "Emancipation," abroad (in Stuttgart, Germany). In other countries, on the contrary, there existed practically throughout the history of the mass labour movement (with some rare and temporary exceptions such as the anti-Socialist law in Germany), freedom for the Social-Democratic Parties not only before, but even during the war. In the decisive capitalist countries (France, Germany, England, America, Czecho-Slovakia and other countries) the Communist Parties exist more or less legally. It is these parties that I will contrast and compare with the Bolshevist Party of former Czarist Russia.

Up to 1905 Russia had no legal mass trade unions, and after 1905 when they were created by the R.S.D.L.P.* (Bolsheviks and Mensheviks) they eked out a miserable existence until 1912. The Mensheviks endeavoured to give the T.U.'s they had created functions and a character analogous to that of T.U.'s in Western Europe. If they did not succeed in this, it was only thanks to the tireless struggle of the Bolsheviks against these efforts inside the workers' mass organisations. During the period of reaction the Menshevik liquidators tried to use the T.U.'s as a substitute for the Party. From the outbreak of the war until the February Revolution the T.U.'s were either closed or placed in such police conditions as to be unable to function normally. Abroad, in the principal countries (England, America, Italy) trade unions were created before the organisation of the Social-Democratic Parties, while the trade union movement of France was permeated by syndicalism which ignored the political parties. At the same time, in some countries (England, Belgium, Sweden, etc.) the trade unions were collectively affiliated to the Labour Parties so that it may be said that in a certain measure these Parties were formed out of the trade unions. Even of Germany it may be said that the trade union movement is older than the independent political Labour Parties. In the 60's the trade unions in various Labour centres (such as the unions of compositors, cigar makers in Berlin, etc.) originated and functioned before the workers' educational societies which gave rise to the two Labour Parties of Germany, the Lassalians and the Eisenachers (which subsequently constituted the German Social-Democratic Party), arose and broke away from the bourgeois progressive party. The workers' strikes took place without the leadership of political parties, especially during the latter half of the 60's.

To illustrate the attitude of one of the most politically active workers' parties of that time towards strikes we will quote the decision of the Congress of the German General Workers' League (a political party led by Lassalle and after his death by Schweitzer) held in Hamburg in August, 1868. The Congress, by a vote of 3,417 to 2,583, declared not in favour of leading strikes but only of maintaining a friendly attitude towards strikes whereas the minority was even opposed to this rather indefinite formula. The Congress rejected a proposal to convene a national Workers' Congress for the purpose of establishing general workers' unions.

It goes without saying that individual

* Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

Lenin with the leading members of the Petersburg League of Struggle for the Liberation of Labour, 1895. Sitting on Lenin's left is Julius Martov who as a Menshevik leader became a bitter opponent of his former ally.

Socialists and, particularly, the First International as a whole led by Marx and Engels, exercised a very great influence over the existing trade unions and the strikes of that time. But the fact is that even in Germany of that epoch the political parties did not organise strikes or lead the trade unions. Later, with the passing of the anti-Socialist law, the German trade unions suffered less than the political Social-Democratic Party. The powerful development of capitalism strengthened the trade union movement despite the persecutions. Under the conditions of the time the trade unions could not but strengthen their independence. The Parliamentary Social-Democratic fraction which assumed the functions of the Central Committee did not direct the economic struggle of the proletariat, restricting itself to Parliamentary-political problems. Thus, from the very beginning of the existence of the Social-Democratic Party, and of the trade union organisations, the latter displayed tendencies towards independence. In Czarist Russia, on the contrary, the Party organisations of the Bolsheviks led the entire struggle, both economic and political. Abroad the functions of the trade unions and the Social-Democratic Parties were divided, the Parties engaging in pure politics while the trade unions conducted the economic struggle. It must be emphasised that certain Communist Parties in capitalist countries do not even now consider it their duty to lead the economic struggle, but entrust it completely to the trade union opposition or the red trade unions. Thus, the Communist Parties have taken over these Social-Democratic traditions. In those countries where the Communist Parties organise strikes and attend to the trade union movement we sometimes observe cases of a sectarian attitude towards it. It is only with great difficulty that the Communist Parties succeed in ridding themselves of this attitude.

THE BOLSHEVIK AND THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FORMS OF PARTY ORGANISATION

In Czarist Russia there were no elections or election campaigns up to 1905. Although the municipal and county councils (the Zemstvos) and City Duma were elected bodies, neither the peasants nor the workers participated in the elections. After 1905 when the State Duma was created the workers were given special voting conditions, labour "curias"* being created and the workers voting in the factories and mills.

All the parties in Czarist Russia up to 1905 were illegal, and the absence of elections and (and this is of chief importance) the correct attitude of the Bolsheviks towards the structure of the Party—they recruited into the Party the workers of the factories, created political and self-education circles for the factory workers—gave rise to these special forms of the Bolshevik Party in Czarist Russia. The illegal condition of the Bolshevik Party prompted it to establish Party groups in the factories, where it was easier and more convenient to work. The Party structure of the Bolsheviks thus began with the factories, and this yielded excellent results both during the years of the reaction, after the February revolution, and particularly

* An electoral body on a class basis. The workers' "curia" could not elect the same number of representatives as those of the bourgeoisie and landlords.

during the October Revolution of 1917, the civil war and the great construction of Socialism. During the reaction following upon 1908, when in places the local party committees and the party leadership (the C.C.) were broken up, there still remained in the factories and mills a certain base, small party cells which continued the work. After the February Revolution, when the elections to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were held, the factories and mills also served as the basis for the elections. It is noteworthy that the elections to the municipal and district councils and the Constituent Assembly, which were based not upon occupational but upon territorial principles, were also carried out by the Bolshevik Party very successfully after the February and October Revolutions, despite the fact that the party had no territorial organisations, and its agitation was concentrated in the factories and barracks. The cells and the district and city committees conducted the election campaign without creating special territorial organisations for the purpose. During all periods the lower party organisations of the Bolsheviks existed at the place of work rather than at the place of residence.

Abroad the situation was entirely different. There elections were not held in the factories but in the election districts, in the places where the voters lived. The main task pursued by the Socialist Parties was to gain electoral victories, to fight by means of the ballot, and the Party organisation was therefore built along residential lines, which made it easier to organise the Party members for the election campaign in the respective election districts.

It cannot be said, however, that the Social-Democratic Parties were not connected with the factories and mills. They kept in contact with them through the trade unions which they headed through their members. Although the trade unions were not built along factory lines, they still had their representatives and financial secretaries in the factories, and since these financial secretaries and trade union delegates were mostly Social-Democrats, the Social-Democratic Parties, through these trade union delegates and through the trade unions, were connected with the factories. When the Communist Parties appeared (and they appeared in some countries as a result of secessions and withdrawals from the Social-Democratic Party, while in others, such as Czecho-Slovakia and France, the majority of the Social-Democratic Party decided to join the Communist International, the remaining minorities constituting themselves into Social-Democratic Parties), they built their organisations exactly after the model of the Social-Democrats. And this, despite the fact that the Communist Parties, from the very moment of their inception, aimed at an entirely different objective to that of the Social-Democratic Parties. They made it their object to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the power of the proletariat, while the international Social-Democracy during the war, supported its bourgeoisie, and after the war, developed into the chief social support of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the Communist Parties constructed their organisations along the same lines as the Social-Democrats, on the basis of election constituencies, along residential lines. In addition it must be said that they did not have their trade union organisations, and where they created their own trade unions, the latter did not, and do not, to this day, have firm organisational connections with the factories. Thus, the organisations of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries were built without permanent organisational connections with the factories. Such is the principal defect in the structure of the Communist Parties which must be clearly and sharply stressed by the teacher in the Party schools. The Communist Parties have different tasks, yet they built their organisations along the same lines as the Social-Democratic Parties. While the Social-Democrats are connected with the factories through the trade unions, the Communist Parties do not have even such connections with the factories; this is true of even those Communist Parties which strongly influence the red trade unions (the Communist Parties of Czecho-Slovakia and France). The Com-

During all periods the lower party organizations of the Bolsheviks existed at the place of work . . .

A detachment of the Red Guard at the Smolny Institute where the Bolshevik uprising was organized.

munist Parties, immediately after their formation, took over the organisational forms of the Social-Democratic Parties, because they did not know of, they were not familiar with, the peculiar Bolshevist forms and methods of Party structure. However, during the war, and immediately after it, the factory workers in many countries appointed revolutionary representatives (in Germany these representatives played an important part in the big strikes conducted during the war) elected factory committees (such as the shop stewards in England) and even sent representatives to local and National Councils. In this way they were able to realise the advantages of organising at their place of work compared with organisation along territorial lines. But after the revolutionary storm subsided, the Social-Democratic traditions gained the upper hand over the forms of organisation approaching the Bolshevist forms of work in the factories. This is the main reason why the Communist Parties, especially the middle and lower Party and revolutionary trade union organisations and cadres which are actually carrying out most of the Party and revolutionary work rejected at that time the nearly-Bolshevist methods of work in the factories, and are now resisting the adoption of these methods, despite the fact that their superiority to the Social-Democratic methods has already been proven. In this, however, they do not meet with sufficient opposition on the part of the Party leadership.

That the absence of Party organisations in the factories strongly affects the work of the Communist Parties is shown by such an example, for instance, as that of Germany, in 1923, when the Party failed to utilise the revolutionary situation for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, this being due not only to the absence of a truly revolutionary leadership, but also to the absence of extensive and firm connections with the workers in the factories. In 1923, German Social-Democracy was seriously weakened by mass desertions. The reformist trade unions in 1922 had nine million members (7,895,065 in the all-German Federation of Trade Unions and the rest in the clerical workers' unions) of whom only three million remained in 1923. The apparatus of the reformist trade unions was demoralised, it had no money to pay its officials. The German Communist Party could then have captured power had it been headed by a revolutionary leadership, had it conducted a real struggle against the Social-Democratic Party and the reformists, had it been strongly connected with the factories, had it been familiar with the interests of the factory workers, had it mobilised them, applying the revolutionary united front policy in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat instead of the Brandlerist united front with the "left" Saxon Social-Democrats and with Zeigner's Government. The meeting called by the Brandlerist opportunist leadership in 1923 to decide the question of whether

they were to take action or not consisted mainly of Party officials, co-operative workers and trade union officials, among whom there were a good many right opportunists of the type of Brandler, Thalheimer and Walcher, who were not connected with the masses, who did not know what the working masses were thinking and interested in, and it was this meeting which decided not to act.

Factory Cells and Street Cells

In Czarist Russia the cells (or the individual Bolsheviks in the factories and mills in which no Party cells existed) utilised all the grievances in the factories; the gruffness of the foremen, deductions from wages, fines, the failure to provide medical aid in accidents, etc., for oral agitation at the bench, through leaflets, meetings at the factory gates or in the factory yards, and separate meetings of the more class conscious and revolutionary workers. The Bolsheviks always showed the connection between the maltreatment in the factories, and the rule of the autocracy, for the workers felt the effects of the Czarist whips on their own backs, and jail and exile for their protests and strikes against the employers. At the same time the autocracy was connected up in the agitation of the Party cells with the capitalist system, so that at the very beginning of the development of the Labour Movement the Bolsheviks established a connection between the economic struggle and the political. When the sentiments of the workers in the factories became favourable towards a strike, the Bolshevik cells immediately placed themselves in the leadership. The strikes in single shops spread to all departments, a strike in a single factory spread to all the other factories, and the strikes of the factory workers, under the influence and leadership of the Bolshevik Party organisations, frequently assumed the forms of street demonstrations, and in this way the economic strikes developed into a political struggle.

In the history of the Labour Movement of Czarist Russia there were many cases when strikes at individual factories developed into strikes of all the factories of the entire city, and affected other cities as well. All such strikes, despite the underground work of the Bolsheviks, demanded great sacrifices on their part as well as the revolutionary workers. But these sacrifices, this struggle and daily activity gave rise to new cadres who continued the struggle. In this way the Bolshevik cells became organisers of the struggle of the masses, and conducted the economic and political struggles.

The third congress of the Comintern held in 1921 adopted the first theses on the question of the structure of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Up to 1924 the Communist Parties completely failed to respond to these decisions of the third congress. Now many of the Communist Parties already have factory cells, but in most cases, especially in the legal Communist Parties, they do hardly any work in the factories. The Social-Democratic traditions of Party structure have been so strongly rooted in some of the Communist Parties that they press upon the Party members even when Bolshevist forms of organisation are already applied. Factory Party cells already exist in many of the factories, but they are still very far from changing the method of their work. They discuss the Party questions, participate in the campaigns for the election of factory committees, sometimes even publish factory newspapers, but they do not attend to the questions of their own factory, they do not conduct oral individual agitation in the factories, at the factory gates, in the tram-car, sub-way and train, while travelling to and from work, they rarely speak at the meetings held by the factory committees, which are addressed by Social-Democrats and reformists and where it is easier to prove and reveal their treachery. The factory cells do not direct or control the work of the Communists in the factory committees led by the reformists. They leave the red factory committees without leadership; that is why the work of the red factory committees is frequently in no way superior to that of the reformist committees. The most important Party and trade union campaigns are not conducted by the Party Committees through the factory cells. Even the municipal, District Council and Parliamentary elections which are held quite frequently are still carried out, not through the factory cells, but through the street cells. All this leads to the factory cells learning of strikes in the shops and even in the factories in which the members of the cells are employed, only after they are already begun. Even in those cases when the factory cells and the groups of the

trade union opposition and red trade unions do prepare for a strike, as soon as the strike committees are elected, they withdraw from the leadership and cease to exist as organisations, of which the reformists are naturally quick to take advantage.

This may be said of the majority of the cells existing in the factories and mills of the capitalist countries. This does not mean that there are no cells there which are working excellently, which have proved that the factory cell system is superior to the Social-Democratic system of building the Party organisation. Unfortunately, however, such cells constitute a minority, while the enormous majority of the cells in the factories do not work at all, or work poorly. In very many cases not all the members of the party employed in the factories join the factory cells to this day.

The Bolshevik Party knew only one form of lower organisation, the cell in the factory, office, army barracks, etc. Taking into consideration the conditions abroad, the Comintern was forced to introduce an additional form of organisation, the street cells. They were introduced for such members of the Party as housewives, small artisans, etc. The street cells were to be used for the Party work in the places of residence. The street cells are to embrace also the unemployed members of the Party until they find work; it is impossible to force an unemployed member of the Party to go to the factory where he was formerly employed in order to attend a cell meeting (if a cell exists there) when these unemployed simply have not the means of paying for their fare to the factories. The street cells have definite tasks; to canvass the homes of the workers, to distribute handbills, to help in the election campaigns, to give outside help to the factory cells.

The Parties in the principal capitalist countries are legal, but the cells must be illegal.

In the big cities abroad, it happens that a worker is employed in the city itself, but lives far away from the city, sometimes even in a town located several miles from the city. But in the evening, as well as week-ends, the Party members living far from their places of work must be utilised by the local Party committees and street cells for Party work in their place of residence. The basic work of these Party members still remains that in their factory cell.

But instead of making it into a merely subsidiary organisation, the Communist Parties made the street cell the predominant organisation. They began to create street cells on such a scale that they embraced 80 per cent, and sometimes even more of the Party members.

In other words, in the street cells they found a loophole through which they sought to drag in the old form of organisation of the Party members. And the entire struggle of the organisational department of the E.C.C.I. for the past five years to get the Communist Parties to check up the membership of the street cells and remove those employed in the factories from them, produced practically no result. If we take the figures of the German Communist Party we will see that at the end of December, 1931, they had 1,983 factory cells and 6,196 street cells. In membership they are large, but their activity is weak. In other cases they began to create so-called concentration groups, so as to avoid organising factory cells. They take a few from different factories and create a group to serve one factory. Such concentration groups, existing especially in England, could not produce the same results as factory cells. In France cells were created consisting of 1-2 workers of the factory, and 12-16 members from outside the factory. And these were also called factory cells! To these 12-16 members of the Party, the events in the factory appear trifling, so that the cell naturally attends to anything, but what takes place in the factory.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WORK OF THE COMMUNIST CELLS IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND THE METHODS FOR OVERCOMING THESE DIFFICULTIES

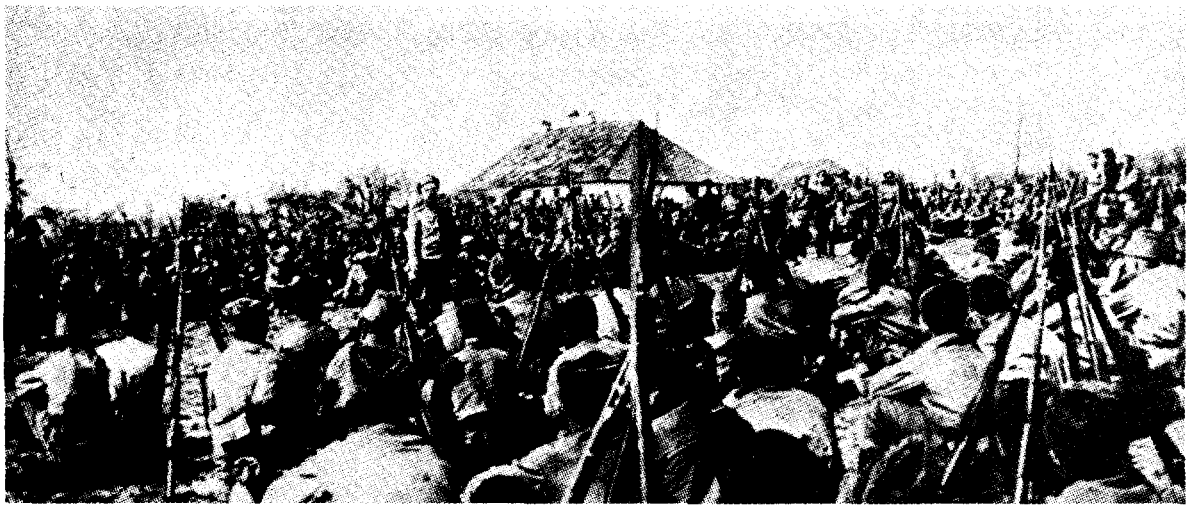
There are, of course, serious difficulties in the work in the factories which the teachers must not ignore. In Czarist Russia the Bolshevik Party was illegal and the Party cells were naturally also illegal. When the Party became legal the cells also

became entirely legal. Abroad the situation is quite different. The Parties in the principal capitalist countries are legal, but the cells must be illegal. Unfortunately, they cannot work unnoticed. The employers and their spies detect the revolutionary workers and throw them out of the factory without meeting with any protest on the part of the reformist trade unions; on the contrary, the latter frequently act themselves as the initiator in the expulsion of the Communists from the factories. But inasmuch as the work of the Communists in the factories is weak, as a rule the workers do not defend the discharged Communists (though there have been opposite cases as well, of course). Under these conditions the factory cells do nothing in most cases, or if they display the least activity, their members are thrown out of the factories, owing to failure to conceal even their insignificant work. There are frequently also cases when the Communists are thrown out of the factories even when they do nothing there, simply because of their membership in the Communist Party. The teachers of the International Communist Universities must remember this difficulty. They must explain to the students in the discussion of the work in the legal Communist Parties how such cells can and must organise their work, and it is here that the Bolshevist experience of illegal work in the factories under the Czar which produced such excellent results, can be utilised. Let this not appear a trifle. The Communist Parties suffer very much from their inability to conduct conspirative work in the factories, losing members and revolutionary workers, through their expulsion from the factories. To some Communists it may appear a shame that the Social-Democrats, the nationalists and the members of the other Parties are able openly to proclaim their Party affiliation while they, despite the fact that the Communist Party is legal, must hide their membership in it. Is not such secrecy cowardice? Or right opportunism? Not in the least. This would be cowardice and opportunism if the members of the cells, or the individual Communists, feared and evaded addressing the factory workers' meetings against the reformists and Social-Democrats, when they proposed to agree to a lowering of the living standards of the workers, to approve the dismissal of the workers, or when they vote for the proposals of the Social-Democrats and reformists, etc. Such cases, unfortunately, have occurred. But there is no need at all to shout in the factories and mills that we are Communists and while shouting thus, not always conducting Communist work. It is possible and necessary to carry on real Party work connecting the Party slogans with the every-day struggle in the factories, without calling oneself a member of the Party or cell. It is always possible to find appropriate forms for this. Is it not possible to say: "today I read such and such a report, this or that," or "a chap from our factory (or from the neighbouring factory) told me...," etc.? In short, everything in the spirit of the decisions of the cell and Party, though in form there is no shouting about it; it may even appear "innocent." Even in those cases when anyone addresses the workers' meeting in the factory on instructions from the cell, it is not always necessary to declare that he speaks in the name of the cell. The main point is that the speeches should always be in the spirit of the decision of the cell, while the motions should be prepared or approved by the cell bureau. The other members of the cell and their sympathisers must not only vote for the motion made by the comrade sent by the cell, but also conduct agitation among the workers for this motion. In the illegal Parties the situation is different. There both the Party and the cells are illegal, but unfortunately even the illegal Parties have not yet learned properly to disguise their work.

The Communist Parties suffer very much from their inability to conduct conspirative work in the factories.

There is one more important difficulty which the teachers must remember and sharply emphasize.

In Czarist Russia the rules and regime in the factories were lenient compared with those in the factories of the big capitalist countries, especially compared with what we have now after the introduction of capitalist rationalisation which sweats the workers to death, after the introduction of the conveyer system.



Meeting of a soldiers' committee at the front in March 1917. Such committees, elected by the rank and file, acquired enormous power.

Before the fall of Czarism the workers were so miserably paid by their employers, and conducted such a vigorous struggle against the deterioration of the conditions in the factories that the manufacturers were forced on the whole, to give up the idea of introducing Taylorism in the exploitation of the workers. This facilitated the Party work in the factories. Besides, the workers in the factories and mills, no matter what so-called Socialist Parties they may have belonged to,* joined the Bolshevik workers in the economic and political struggles (strikes, demonstrations, and even uprisings). But this does not at all mean that the Bolshevik Party, the factory cells, or the individual Bolsheviks drifted with the current, that they hid their Bolshevist principles in the factory. On the contrary, in the factories and mills, as well as in the illegal newspapers and appeals, the Bolsheviks conducted a vigorous campaign against the Mensheviks, liquidators, Trotskists, Socialist-revolutionists, National Socialists, etc. The Bolsheviks, by their convincing agitation, by their arguments in the debates with the members of other Parties, by their reasoned and timely proposals, by their knowledge of the situation of the workers in the factories, by their methods of work, by drawing the workers into the solution of the questions, by patient preparation of the struggle, by their methods or organisation, proved their correctness and superiority to the other Parties; that is why the Bolshevist Party succeeded in establishing in the factories and mills the united front from below, with the workers of all tendencies throughout the history of the Labour Movement in Russia, even when the Mensheviks shouted about the Bolshevik "strike fever" in 1912-1914 and when under Kerensky, the Moscow Bolsheviks in August, 1917, called a general strike against the Moscow State Conference in which the Mensheviks and the Socialist-revolutionists played the first fiddle, and later, during the October days of 1917, when the Bolsheviks organised the uprising against the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-revolutionists.

Some of the favourable conditions mentioned above are not enjoyed by the present-day Communist Parties. Thus, they are forced to conduct the economic struggle—and not only the economic—both against the Social-Democrats, the reformist trade unions, the Fascists, the yellows and everybody else.

All of them go hand in hand with the employers. The least carelessness in the work and the Communists, whether as members of the trade union opposition or the red trade unions, are thrown out of the factories. This makes it necessary to resort to such methods of work as will produce, in the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat, the highest effect with the least losses.

Such methods are the tried Bolshevist

* After 1905 there were formed "Black Hundred Gangs" led by Czarism, which wormed themselves into the railway service, especially among the clerks. In the factories and mills they completely failed to gain an influence among the workers.

methods alone. The Communists must and should overcome all the difficulties. The greater the difficulties, the more patient and determined must be the work of the Communists inside the factory, near its gates and everywhere where the workers and the unemployed are found.

The contents and methods of the work must be Bolshevist. It is necessary to systematically convince, and prove by convincing arguments instead of denouncing the opponents, especially the Social-Democratic and reformist workers. It is necessary to systematically expose the Social-Democracy and the reformists in a popular manner, with the aid of facts, without, however, forgetting the national Socialists and all other enemy Parties still followed by the workers. But agitation alone is insufficient. It is necessary to organise the struggle, it is necessary to prove to the workers that the Communists are able to organise the struggle and paralyse the manoeuvres of the Social-Democrats and reformists. This can be achieved by the application of Bolshevist methods of work and organisation, not a mechanical application, but one depending upon the concrete conditions. At the present moment when the situation of the workers in every capitalist country has been incredibly worsened, when the number of unemployed has mounted into the millions, when all the burdens of the economic and financial crisis coupled with the expenses of the preparation for imperialist wars and the attacks upon the U.S.S.R. are being thrown on the backs of the toilers, it becomes possible and absolutely necessary for the Communist Party to overcome all the difficulties and improve its work.

Burial of victims of the Russian Revolution, St. Petersburg, 1905

ENROLMENT OF COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS AND THE MEMBERSHIP FLUCTUATION

How are new members enrolled by the Communist Parties? The Bolsheviks enroll and have enrolled revolutionary workers in the factories. Only after the capture of the power did the Bolsheviks begin to organise Party weeks, that is, campaigns for the enrollment of members, these campaigns also being conducted in the factories. Prior to the October Revolution the Bolsheviks enrolled members on the basis of the every-day work. Those admitted to the Party were drawn into the Party work and included in political study circles.

How is the enrollment of members by the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries organised to this day? Members are enrolled at meetings, at great mass meetings. Sometimes even in the streets (in England). A speaker makes a fiery speech, carries away the worker, and the latter submits an application for admission to the Party. Let us assume that in doing this he gives his address. However, our Party organisations have not been in a hurry to establish contact with such comrades, to bring them into the Party organisations, to find them in their homes, to ascertain where they work in order to get in touch with their factory cell or street. While they take their time a large number of applicants disappears in an unknown direction: some changing their addresses, some leave for other cities, some lose their ardour about joining the Communist organisation. Precisely because the admission to the Party takes place not in the factories, not on the basis of the work of the Party in the factories, through the creation of a body of active non-party workers who make themselves conspicuous in the everyday work, particularly during strikes and demonstrations, and from among whom the cells recruit new Party members, even those whom we have already enrolled leave us. I could cite perfectly amazing figures to characterise the fluctuation in the Communist Parties.

In January, 1930, the German Communist Party, according to its data, had 133,000 dues paying members; during 1930 another 143,000 members were admitted, so that in 1931 the total membership ought to have amounted to 276,000. But at the end of December, 1930, the C.P. of Germany had only

180,000, which means that in 1930, 90,000 members dropped their membership in the C.P. of Germany. In 1931, the situation, according to the figures of the Organisational Department of the E.C.C.I., based upon the statistics of the C.P. of Germany, was as follows: the number of newly-admitted members was 210,000, but at the same time as many members left the Party as in 1930. Would all of these Party members have left the Party had the organisations worked well, had they given attention to the new members, had they drawn the new members into Party work, but they supplied them with proper literature, had they formed circles and included these members within them so that they would study there? Would under such conditions all those who left the party have left it? I think they would not.

Although the workers and employees are being thrown out of the factories in masses, the enrollment of Party members must be carried out mainly among the employed workers, especially in the big factories of the key industries. The Party organisations are obliged particularly to pay attention to the members of the Party in these factories and industries; they should be drawn into the discussion of all the questions of the current policy of the Party. They should be given assistance in the preparation of speeches at the factory meetings in the oral agitation among the workers of the factory, they should be supplied with materials against the social-democrats, reformists, national socialists, the Government, etc. Similar work should be carried out among the Party activists who conduct the Party and trade union work among the unemployed, and within the reformist trade unions. If such work is carried out, the number of Party members, new and old, leaving the Party, will decline. For the fact that thousands and hundreds of thousands are joining the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union organisations, proves that the workers agree with the slogans, tactics and programme of the Communist Parties and with the programmes of the mass organisations. But the internal life of the local organisations and their activity does not satisfy the revolutionary workers, so that a large section of the newly-admitted members leaves them. To the teachers of the international universities, as well as to the activists and cadres who are to engage in the Party work, these questions of enrolment and maintenance of new members are far from indifferent. Special attention must be given to these questions. The question must be carefully studied. Perhaps the teachers are already giving attention to the fact which I have pointed out, but what I say is based on practice and practical results. And in this field we find that the Communist Parties have not yet received the cadres which are necessary for the correct building of the Party organisation.

THE PARTY COMMITTEES, INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY, PARTY DISCIPLINE, METHODS OF LEADERSHIP, SELF-CRITICISM, DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM, THE QUESTION OF CADRES

Take the Party committees. When the Bolsheviks built their party during and after the Czarist regime the Party committees were collective organs, all of whose members participated in the decision of questions, and had distinct functions of their own.

The district and city Party committees considered and decided all questions connected with the economic and political struggle of the proletariat within the framework of the decisions of the congresses and plenums of the Party C.C., of the C.C. directions, of the Central Organ and of Comrade Lenin's instructions. They not only discussed and issued instructions as to how these decisions and directives should be applied in the given province and city, but took upon themselves the organisation of the operation of these decisions, explaining and popularising them. They gave special attention to the local committees which were directly connected with the factories. They saw to it that the Party decisions and the directions of the Party committees were discussed in all the Party organisations, especially in factories, especially that they passed resolutions on them and adopted methods for

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their realisation. They saw to it that the Party organisations should not violate the inner-party democracy, but at the same time they also saw to it that the strictest discipline should prevail in the Party organisations. The questions were discussed before a decision was adopted. But as soon as a decision was adopted it had to be carried out without question by all the Party members, including those who opposed it and voted against it. This did not of course interfere with any criticism of the Party committees after the decisions had been carried out, as well as with self-criticism on the part of the Party committees, etc. But the criticism and self-criticism only led to an improvement of the methods of work of the leadership, to the strategy and tactics being worked out more carefully and the mistakes being corrected. The leadership of the Party, the leadership of the district and city committees did not restrict themselves to "pure" politics only. They engaged in questions of programme, policy and organisation. They did not separate policy from organisation, the adoption of decisions from their realisation. This was, in the tremendous majority of cases correct, vital, revolutionary Bolshevist leadership. This is why the divergency between the ideological influence over the masses and its organisational consolidation was not large.

An entirely different position prevails in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries. There very frequently no local Party committees exist, and where they do exist the only one doing any work, at best, is the secretary, who is sometimes paid and sometimes unpaid, while the Party committees exist only in the form of attachments to the secretaries, and do not function regularly as collective organs.

Where the Party committees exist, very frequently all the reports at the full meetings are made by the secretaries and whatever they propose is adopted because the Party committees (that is their individual members) are not in touch with the Party affairs. These local and city committees are unable, of course, either to organise the work of the cells or to give them proper leadership. To the local party organs, especially the lower ones, special attention must be given.

In many cases the decisions of the congresses and C.C. of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries are not discussed in the factory or street cells or residential party groups which still exist in large numbers. These decisions are discussed at meetings of the city or district activists and that is where the matter ends.

The directives of the C.C. and regional committees rarely reach the cells, are marooned in the district committees, yet directives applying, say, to the conduct of mass campaigns are meant mainly for the cells, since it is precisely the cells which come into direct contact with the masses. The cells and residential groups are on the whole passive. They do not throb with life as is dictated by the conditions of the present period; this too is a social-democratic tradition. These Party organisations come to life only before election campaigns. That is why there are many cases of inner-Party democracy and Bolshevist discipline being absent from these Party organisations. In this situation it is not surprising that the decisions of the congresses, the directives of the Comintern and C.C. remain unfulfilled. Take for instance the decisions of the C.I. congresses, of the congresses of the different Parties, of the E.C.C.I. and of the C.C.'s calling for the shifting of the centre of gravity of the Party and trade union work into the factories, for the improvement of the work of the lower units of the Party and trade union organisations, especially in the factories, etc.

Obviously the cause for the absence of Bolshevist methods of Party work should be sought in the incorrect policy of the leading (central, district, sub-district and partly local) Party cadres.

But there is "self-criticism" galore. They criticise themselves openly during strikes, when it is necessary to reorganise the work in the course of the struggle, during campaigns, when it is necessary to change the methods and content of the work to improve the organisation of the Party forces for the purpose of extending and deepening the campaign. They criticise themselves upon the conclusion of the strikes and campaigns, which is all right, but they repeat the same old mistakes during the next strikes and campaigns. We have plenty of such cases.

In the Bolshevik Party, even under the Czar, when the Party was illegal, we had democratic centralism. The Party organisations did not wait for instructions from the C.C., the regional committees, the provincial committees and the city committees; without waiting for them, they acted, depending upon the local conditions, upon the events, within the framework of the general Party decisions and directives. The initiative of the local Party organisations, of the cells, was encouraged. Were the Bolsheviks of Odessa or Moscow, of Baku, or Tiflis, always to have waited for directives from the C.C., the provincial committees, etc., which during the years of the reaction and of the war frequently did not exist at all owing to arrests, what would have been the result? The Bolsheviks would not have captured the working masses and exercised any influence over them. The provincial and city committees themselves published appeals and leaflets on all occasions when this was necessary.

Unfortunately, in many Communist Parties there is supercentralism, especially in the legal parties. The C.C. must supply leaflets to the local organisations, the C.C. must first state its opinion on the events in order that the locals should wake up. The responsibility does not exist which the Party organisation must have to act at any moment, regardless of whether directives exist or not, on the basis of the decisions of the Party and Comintern. And even in those cases when corresponding directives of the centre do exist, they frequently do not reach the mass of the membership, and at the same time there is not sufficient control over the execution of the directions on the part of the higher organs. All this must be combated and the teachers must remember this side of the question in the work. In the Bolshevik Party the buttress of Party work was cells in the factories and works. The connection with the masses, who were led through the cells and Communist fractions in the mass organisations was a living one. The Party press literature, the written, spoken agitation, was based on the level of understanding of the masses.

Since the Bolshevist Party under the Czar was illegal up to the February revolution, no big apparatus existed either at the centre (in the C.C.) or locally (in the district, local and provincial committees); they did not and could not have permanent headquarters necessary for any more or less reasonable apparatus. The financial resources would also not allow a large staff. For this reason the centre of gravity of the Party work (and not only of the Party work, but even of the work of the legal and illegal trade unions) was naturally shifted into the factories and mills. This situation of the Party work continued during the period of February to October, 1917, as well, when the Bolshevik Party became legal and carried out enormous mass work while the apparatus of the C.C., of the regional and provincial committees was quite small. As before the principal attention was given to the work of the local committees, sub-local committees and factory cells.

The question consists in taking a course to the masses, to a close permanent connection with them

In the legal parties of the capitalist countries the order in the Party apparatus is the reverse: these Communist Parties, being legal, have quite a number of convenient premises at their disposal to house their apparatus.

The main forces of the apparatus (the agitation, organisation, trade union, women's, parliamentary, village and other departments) are concentrated in the C.C., regional and provincial committees, while the local committees and the cells are empty. In many local committees in the industrial centres—not to speak of the cells—there are even no paid secretaries. The local committees must

receive "everything" from the centre: that is why the initiative of the local Party organisations is deadened. The E.C.C.I. is waging a determined struggle against this phenomenon.

The struggle is all the more necessary because here again the question is not one of simply organisational condition of legality or illegality. The question consists in taking a course to the masses, to a close permanent connection with them. The forms of organisation must be subjected to these aims and serve them, not the reverse.

In the legal Communist Parties of the capitalist countries the connection with and leadership of the masses is in most cases of a paper character—through circulars; the press, literature, written and oral agitation are abstract and not concrete: they do not, as a rule, correspond to the concrete situation. This is due to the fact that under the conditions described above there are not suitable cadres capable of acting locally and directly in contact with the masses. This leads us therefore to the question of proper Party cadres. In the Bolshevik Party the Party cadres were forged in the mass practical work. They learned through this work to react to all the events in the life of the worker. They not only knew what the worker thinks and how he lives, but they also responded to it; they organised the struggle, they pointed the way out to the worker; that is why the Bolshevik Party even during the days of the Czar exercised such a great influence over the masses, enjoyed such a great prestige among the working class.

In the Bolshevik Party the Party cadres were forged in the mass practical work

The higher and middle Party cadres in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries are in most cases revolutionary ex-members of the Social-Democratic Parties. Their methods of work remained in most cases the same as in the Social Democracy. Many of them have not yet freed themselves from the Social-Democratic traditions. And even a large section of the new young cadres who have been brought to the fore during the last few years in some of the Communist Parties, are inexperienced, are also unable to work concretely and independently, and, in view of the excessive centralisation of the leadership ("everything" from the centre!), they are poorly learning the art of independent initiative and concrete leadership in the local work.

THE COMMUNIST FRACTIONS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE PARTY COMMITTEES

Of course, it was easier for the Bolsheviks than for the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries to establish the mutual relations between the Communist fractions and Party committees since the Party organisations actually conducted a great variety of activities, they led the economic struggle, organised trade unions and co-operative societies and created all sorts of labour organisations, such as were allowed to exist under the Czarist régime, from 1905 until the war. That is why the Party organisations were recognised authorities in the eyes of the workers in all these organisations, especially of the Party members and sympathisers. This situation appeared to all to be quite natural and no one raised any question about it. When we came into power there were some tendencies among certain Soviet Communist fractions to supplant the Party organs, but this was a passing phenomenon. The relations between the Party organisations and the Communist fractions (or individual Communists) in the non-Party mass labour organisations prior to and, especially, since the capture of power, have been such that the Party organisations decide the important questions while the Communist fractions and the individual Communists, no matter what non-Party organisations may be affected, carry the decisions into effect. The Communist fractions themselves decide upon the methods for carrying out the decisions. In their everyday work they are entirely independent. They can and must display initiative in their work within the non-Party organisations and bodies. The Communist fractions in the leading bodies of the non-Party organisations must not only report to the conferences and congresses which elected them, but also to the Party committees. Prior to the October Revolution, and

even immediately after it, when there were still Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in some of the non-Party mass organisations, the Bolsheviks converted each newly-gained position into a stronghold for the capture of the organisation in the district, city, region and nationally. They demonstrated their ability to work better than the others, prepare the questions, lead, and weld together and organise the masses of the workers. That is why they succeeded in driving the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and the other "Socialist" and populist parties out of the mass labour organisations.

In the Communist Parties in capitalist countries things are different because in them Social-Democratic traditions are still preserved, which are frequently interwoven with sectarianism. The trade unions, and the other proletarian mass organisations, as has been pointed out above, arose before the Social-Democratic Parties in the principal capitalist countries and made a strong position for themselves in the working class as independent organisations which led the economic struggle.

The members of the Social-Democratic Parties who led the mass proletarian organisations, therefore, had a definite amount of independence. Moreover, the Social-Democratic Party not only did not oppose this independence but on the contrary, they themselves developed the theory that the trade unions were equal in value to, and therefore should have equal rights with, the Party, that the trade unions were neutral organisations. As has been said already, the only exception in this respect was the Bolshevik Party. A number of cases could be quoted in the history of German Social-Democracy for instance, when the decisions of the trade union congresses differed from those of the Social-Democratic Party Congresses—for instance on the question of the general strike in 1905. And this was so despite the fact that the delegates to the trade union congresses were Social-Democrats who knew the standpoint of the Party. The same thing occurred in connection with the celebration of the First of May. Before the war the Social-Democratic Parties in Central Europe celebrated May Day on the first of May, while the Social-Democratic "free" trade unions sabotaged the First of May celebration, in order to avoid paying victimisation benefit to workers who might lose their jobs for taking part in May Day celebration on the First of May. The trade unions urged that May Day should be celebrated on the first Sunday in May. These relations which existed between the Social-Democratic Parties and the trade unions before the war, and which the Bolsheviks regarded as abnormal (since the war surprising unanimity has been displayed between the Social-Democratic Parties and trade unions and there has been complete co-operation between them in betraying the interests of the working class in their respective countries) cannot be tolerated in a Bolshevik Party since they prevent uniform leadership being exercised over all forms of the revolutionary labour movement. But they have been inherited from the Social-Democratic Parties by the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries.

The abnormal relations between the Communist Parties and the Communist fractions in the trade unions and in all the other mass proletarian organisations are due to two fundamental causes: the Party committees sometimes supplant the mass organisations, they remove the elected secretaries and appoint others, they openly publish in the press such things as: We propose to the red trade unions that they do this or that; that is, they act in a way as is very rarely done even by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Usually the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or of the local Party committees are carried out through the Communist fractions or through individual Party members working in this or that non-Party organisation. Another cause of the abnormal relations is that the individual members of the Communist Party work on their own accord, disregard the directions of the Party organs or disobey them. There have been cases in France, for instance, when the Party organs thought that they must take the place of the International Red Aid, the trade unions, the co-operative and sport organisations, where they alone can perform the functions of these organisations. This is absolutely wrong. Even had the leadership of many of the Communist Parties been a hundred times superior to what it is, in reality, they could not do the work of these organisations. This, in fact, is unnecessary because both the Central Committee and the local Party organisa-

tions should only determine the line, see that the line is carried out, lead the Communist fractions and the individual Communists working in the mass organisations. The Central Committee and the Party committees must get their directives carried out in the mass labour organisations through the Communist fractions or the individual Party members where there are no fractions, but they must not do their work for them.

However, I think it is hardly necessary to go into further details to prove that these incorrect relations between the Party, the trade unions and the mass organisations generally interfere with the extension of the Party connections among the masses, with the real consolidation of the Party among the masses.

In the countries in which there are red trade unions there exist side by side with them, in the same industries, trade unions of other tendencies. However, the red trade unions have very rarely succeeded in capturing whole organisations, or more or less considerable groups of members, from the trade unions of other tendencies.

The trade union oppositions in the reformist trade unions frequently succeed in gaining a majority in the local branches of the different reformist trade unions. But the Communist Parties and the trade union oppositions do not convert these into strongholds from which to extend their influence over the other branches of the same union or over branches of other trade unions which are affiliated to the same local trades council. This can only be explained by the fact that the opposition branches not infrequently take up the same position as reformist trade unions. The same applies to the red factory committees. They do not receive proper leadership and the necessary aid in their work.

THE PRESS

The Bolshevist Party Press, expressing as it does the Party line, has always carried out the decisions of the Party both during the illegal period and at the present time. It mobilises, organises and educates the masses of the workers.

The Party press must not be separated from the Party committees. Abroad, the

ИЗВѢСТІЯ
Центральнаго Исполнительнаго Комитета
и Петроградскаго совѣта
РАБОЧИХЪ и СОЛДАТСКИХЪ ДЕПУТАТОВЪ.

Декретъ о мирѣ,
принятый единогласно на засѣданіи Всероссійскаго Съѣзда Совѣтовъ Рабочихъ, Солдатскихъ и Крестьянскихъ Депутатовъ 26 октября 1917 г.

The decree on peace published in Izvestia

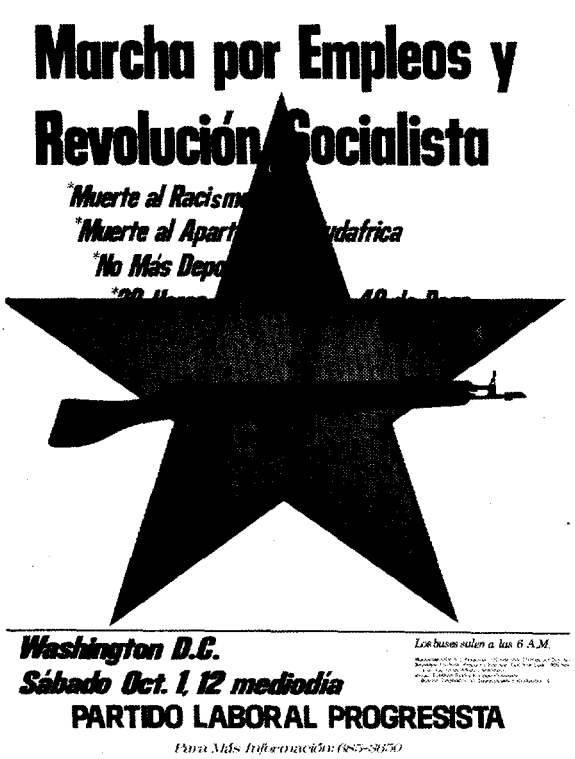
Social-Democratic Parties used to elect the editors of the Party newspapers at their congresses. There were cases when the Central Committee could do nothing with such a newspaper; the paper had its own line while the Central Committee followed its line. Such was the case in Germany with the **Vowärts**, the same occurred in Italy with **Avanti**. The Communist Parties naturally discarded these "excellent" traditions. But the "independent" press which the Social-Democrats had before the war nevertheless left a deep impress upon the Communist Parties as well. Not that the editors are appointed by the congresses and remain independent of the Central Committee and Party committees, this does not happen in the Communist Parties, but in many cases the Central Committee and the Party committees give very little attention to the Party press, and so the press in these cases goes its own way while Central Committees and the Party committees go their own way. The line of the Central Committee and of the Party committees often differs from that of the Party newspapers—but this is not because the Central Committee, the Party committees and the editors want this to be so.

In Germany we have 38 Party dailies. If all of these 38 daily newspapers had good and proper leadership they could exercise much greater influence upon the masses of the workers than they do at present. Remember that from 1912 to 1914 the Bolshevik Party had only one legal daily, Pravda. And what miracles Pravda performed in Russia in those days! What an inestimable help the Pravda was to the workers locally,

though owing to the censorship it could not say everything it desired. Pravda wrote on all the most important and serious questions in popular language that could be understood even by the uneducated workers. Pravda devoted much space to events in the factories and mills. In those countries to which I have referred the newspapers are legal, they are able, more or less, to say whatever they think to express and carry out the Party line. Like the mass labour organisations, newspapers are channels through which the Communist Parties can and must influence the workers, through which they can and must win the workers. One must know how to utilise the newspapers, how to run them properly.

The legal daily Communist press in many countries is not distinguished for popularity of style, the topical character of subjects discussed, or brevity of articles. The newspapers are filled with thesis-like articles instead of popular and brief expositions of the most important vital tasks. If the active members of the Party, the members of the Party generally, and the revolutionary workers do not get material for the fight against the Social-Democratic Parties, the reformists, the National-Socialists and other Parties, which still have a working class following, the responsibility for this must rest upon the press.

Russian revolutionary poster, 1917



U.S. revolutionary poster, 1977

The Party press must not only indicate the line and give facts proving the treachery of the Social-Democrats and reformists and exposing the demagogy of the National-Fascists, but it must also explain how these facts should be utilised. Most of the Party newspapers contain no news from the factories. The Party press has no room for such things.

Not all the Communist Parties have yet learned to appreciate the importance of the Party press. Teachers at International Communist Party schools must give the Party press special attention in their work with the students. Many of the students graduating from the International Party schools become editors.

We have not observed that they are bringing fresh blood into and helping to revive the Party press; that they are breaking down the Social-Democratic traditions in this field.

AGITATION

The capitalist world is at present experiencing a profound industrial crisis, an agrarian crisis, financial upheavals, an imperialist war in the Far East, which threatens to spread to the other countries. All this not only affects the workers and poor peasants, but also the urban petty bourgeoisie (office employees, Government officials, etc.).

These masses are much more open to Communist agitation under present conditions, when capitalist stabilisation has come to an end, than was the case during the period of capitalist "prosperity." Unfortunately, the agitation the Communist Parties carry on in their newspapers, leaflets and oral agitation is too abstract. It seems to be based on the assumption that all the workers know as much as those who write in the papers, who write the leaflets and speak at meetings. When an emergency decree is published in Germany which stings every worker to the quick, which cuts the wages or increases taxes, etc., instead of examining the decree point by point, instead of showing how much the workers will have to pay in taxes, to what extent wages are to be cut, so that the masses can understand it all, instead of this, they simply write: We are opposed to the emergency decree! We demand a a strike against this decree!

The strength of the Bolsheviks was due to the fact that they took up every question

How did the Bolsheviks carry on agitation in the past and how do they do so at the present time? Did they do it in the way some of our Parties are doing it now? The strength of the Bolsheviks was due to the fact that they took up every question: be it a matter of a wage cut of even a kopek, of absence of lavatories, broken windows in the factories, hot water, fines, the quality of the provisions sold in the factory store, etc., etc., and argued about them this way and that until the workers themselves drew logical political conclusions from them.

Take the strikes which occurred in 1903 in the South of Russia. The Bolsheviks succeeded in developing this economic strike movement which was initiated in Odessa by Shayevich and Co., the agents of Zubatov, Chief of the Moscow Secret Police, into a colossal political movement which affected the entire South. Many of the Communist Parties have not yet learned to agitate effectively, while the leading comrades acting as editors, agitators, etc., think that since they understand what is taking place it must be more or less clear to the workers as well. And this is the way they approach the Social-Democratic workers. Instead of taking every little fact of treachery—where it happened, when it happened, naming the witnesses, citing the exact records, relating just how and when the Social-Democratic and reformist leaders negotiated with the government and the employers and betrayed the interests of the working class, instead of painstakingly explaining this to the Social-Democratic, reformist and non-Party workers, our comrades keep repeating: "Social-Fascists and trade union bureaucrats," and that is all. And they think that having said "Social-Fascists" and "trade union bureaucrats," all the workers must understand just what is meant by these terms of abuse and believe that the Social-Democratic and reformist leaders deserved them. This only has the effect of repelling the honest workers who belong to the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade unions, since they do not regard themselves either as Social-Fascists or trade union bureaucrats.

It should be quite clear, therefore, that methods of carrying on agitation must occupy a prominent place in the curriculum of International Communist Party Schools. Read Lenin's articles written in 1917. At that time the Bolshevik Party was accused of being in the pay of the German imperialists. One would have thought that the only way to reply to such a charge, to such as insinuation, would be to say to the accusers: "You are scoundrels, rascals, we do not want to talk to you! We do not think it necessary to justify ourselves before you; you may think what you like, but we shall continue our work." This is probably how many Communist Parties would have replied under the circumstances; they would have said that it was below their dignity to refute such mean accusations! But how did Lenin react to this charge? In the first place he began to explain who Alexinsky* was, and listed

* "Zhivoe Slovo" (Living Word) a yellow sheet published in Petrograd, in its issue of July 18, 1917, No. 51, published a declaration signed by Alexinsky, a renegade Social-Democrat, and Pankratov, a Social-Revolutionary, in which they, on the evidence given by a certain Lieut. Yermalenko, under examination at the General Staff Headquarters and the Military Intelligence Service on April 28, 1917, accused the Bolsheviks of receiving money from German General Staff Headquarters for the purpose of carrying on anti-war propaganda.

all the foul acts by which Alexinsky had distinguished himself in France, that at such and such a meeting in France, this man had been thrown out because he was such a liar and skunk. He then returned to Russia. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, in which the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries predominated would not receive him until he rehabilitated himself. Alexinsky began to attack the Bolsheviks in the press and accused them of working for the Germans, for money, in July, 1917. Lenin exposed this Alexinsky in his true colours, showed what a creature he really was. Having thus exposed the moral character of Alexinsky and destroyed him, Lenin then proceeded to reveal the part the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries played in this dirty campaign. The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries knew that the Bolsheviks were being falsely accused of espionage. Tseretelli, the Menshevik leader, even telephoned to all the newspapers informing them that Alexinsky's document was a forgery and asking them not to publish it. Lenin then quoted a third fact. The slanderous document was known to the Provisional Government as early as June, yet it did not arrest any of those who were accused of being in the pay of the Germans. Hence, it was evident that the Provisional Government did not believe in this calumny against the Bolsheviks. Lenin analysed all these facts, dissected them in a popular style and then put the question: Who was at the head of the Government? Kerensky? No. The Central Executive Committee? No. It is the military. It was the military who wrecked our printing office! Who ordered it to be wrecked? Was it the Provisional Government? No. Was it the C.E.C.? No. There is another power, that power is the military, and it was they who wrecked our printing shop. And do you know who stands behind the military? The Cadets.* A day later, in another article, quoting the speech of the National-Socialist, Tchaikovsky, at the C.E.C., Lenin showed that the Cadets and the Western imperialists had common aims, that the imperialists were willing to provide money only if the Cadets came into power. Lenin began with Alexinsky but ended with the question of who was to be in power, with the question of the class character of the State. He did not merely hurl abuse, he did not say that it was beneath our dignity to refute the mean charges, but he proved that they were insinuations and lies which were first circulated by a yellow sheet and then taken up and trumpeted through the country by the entire bourgeois, Menshevik, Narodniki and Socialist- Revolutionary press.

By carrying on agitation in this simple manner, intelligible to the masses of the workers, the Bolsheviks succeeded not only in repelling the attack of the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionists and Cadets at a time when the situation was very acute for the Bolsheviks, but they succeeded in developing wide agitation during the next three months against all the Parties of that time, particularly against the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists who still exercised some influence over the workers, peasants and soldiers. In this campaign the Bolsheviks utilised against these Parties, all their acts and deception on all questions that came to the front at that time. You must remember that in the period before the October Revolution, in 1917, millions of workers, soldiers and peasants had been drawn into the movement. Just before the October Days the Bolsheviks had already won the support of the entire working class and the majority of the soldiers, while the peasantry also supported the Bolshevik slogans for land and peace.

Is this the way the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries are carrying on their agitation? The Social-Democrats have committed so many acts of treachery against the working class that one easily understands the perplexity of the workers of the Soviet Union who frequently ask: what stuff are the foreign workers made of? The Social-Democrats betray their interests daily, we can see from here that they are being betrayed, yet these foreign workers continue to vote for the Social-Democrats and remain in their Party. The reason why the Social-Democrats are still able to get the support of the workers is that many Communist Parties do not know how to carry on agitation even in the extremely favourable situation which has been created by the present world industrial and agrarian crisis. The Communist Parties must present their criticisms in a detailed and painstaking manner particularly of course the Social-Democratic leaders, despite their innumerable acts of treachery,

* Abbreviation for: Constitutional Democratic Party. The Party of the bourgeoisie.

still manage to find new forms for their demagogic manoeuvres. The German Social-Democrats have helped to carry out the emergency decrees with all their might and rob the unemployed as well as the workers who are still employed. Now, they are introducing a series of demagogic bills in the Reichstag—to reduce unemployment, to increase unemployment benefits, to reduce rents, etc.—and, at the same time, by voting against the Communists with whom after the withdrawal of the National-Socialists, they have a majority in Reichstag, get the Reichstag dissolved indefinitely, without any date being fixed for its reassembly, without any discussion of their bills and, of course, without a discussion of the proposals of the Communist fraction. Under these conditions it is the duty of the Communist Parties to catch the Social-Democratic swindlers "red handed" as it were, to expose every one of their manoeuvres, every step in their treachery with facts and proof.

Both before and after the capture of the power, the Bolshevik Party managed to educate its members, to give them such instructions, such directives, as enabled all the members of the Party to work towards one aim; no matter where they were, no matter what functions they performed, all aimed at one point. And yet, often the local Party bodies received their directives only through the press. The Bolshevik Party achieved all this by applying those methods of work which I have described above. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the majority of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. There we have frequent cases of Party members aiming at different points.

THE PRESENT SITUATION, TACTICS, SLOGANS, THE THEORY OF "LESSER EVIL" AND THE UNITED FRONT

Before the October Revolution the Mensheviks ridiculed the Bolsheviks for frequently placing on the agenda of their meetings the question: "The Present Situation." Yet, without making a precise analysis of a given situation and defining its character it is very difficult to determine the tactics to be pursued. The adoption of correct tactics in each given situation, and still more, the correct application of these tactics is a great art. To master this art means to advance the struggle and the task of winning the masses. It is no small art to advance appropriate and timely slogans corresponding to the situation and needs of the moment. At present hardly anyone will deny the ability of the Bolsheviks to determine the character of the situation, prevailing at any given moment in masterly fashion, to adopt correct tactics and apt slogans to which the great masses would and do respond and rally. Comrade Lenin mocked at those Bolsheviks who clung to the tactics of yesterday and failed to see that they no longer suited the new stage, or changed situation (for instance, the proposal made by Kamenev and Bogdanov to boycott the elections to the Third State Duma in the same way as the Bolsheviks boycotted the First Duma).

It is this ability to define the "present situation" (and to adopt correct tactics corresponding to the given situation) that the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries often lack (and this despite the fact that the Comintern, unlike the Second International, decides and frequently lays down the tasks and tactical line of its sections).

While some Communist Parties regard the fall of this or that Cabinet as a "political crisis," others have regarded the temporary elimination of Parliament from the discussion of current questions as the establishment of a Fascist dictatorship and have deduced from it the necessity of proclaiming as the main slogan the struggle against Fascism, and therefore, of diminishing the struggle against the Social-Democratic Parties. When the mistake is rectified the struggle begins to be conducted against Social-Democracy alone and the Fascists are lost sight of. Very frequently the slogans advanced are absurd: sometimes they apply to domestic questions alone, sometimes they are directed against war, without, however, being organically connected with the questions of domestic policy. Unfortunately we have had absurd slogans not only in the field of "high" politics but also in the economic struggle where they are no less harmful. It is necessary to study the peculiarities of the developing situation very carefully and attentively, to watch its changes and tendencies, to study how the workers react to events, how the enemies, the Social-Democrats, the Fascists, etc., are preparing, what they are about to do, what tactics they are adopting.

Only such an analysis and study of the current situation can enable us to adopt

Barricades put up by soldiers in the Liteiny Prospekt in Petrograd

correct tactics, correct and timely slogans and to carry on our agitation on proper lines. Questions arising out of the current situation should be frequently and widely discussed in the Party press so that the analysis of the situation, the refutation of the arguments and agitation of the opponents, and the exposure of their plans and deceitful tricks serve to arm, educate and prepare the Party members for the struggle. For the same purpose it is necessary to have frequent discussions on the current situation and the tasks of the Party at Party meetings, meetings of the Party groups, etc.

Such discussions will not only enable the Party members to understand the Party line and tactics, to get their bearings on the burning problems of the day and arm themselves with arguments for discussion and agitation in the factories, among the unemployed, in the trade union branch and street, but will also put more life into the groups and local Party organisations.

In recent years the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade union bureaucrats have been making special use of the theory of the "lesser evil." The reformists persuade the workers to agree to a wage cut of 8 per cent instead of the 12 per cent, "demanded" (not without a preliminary agreement with the reformist leaders) by the employers. Then they proclaim this "gain" of 4 per cent, as a victory for the workers. The Social-Democratic Parties support the most despicable laws, which place a heavy burden of taxation upon the toilers and cut down wages, on the pretext that the Government and the bourgeoisie had intended to tax the workers even more heavily. This too they represent as a victory for the workers. They propose to vote for Hindenburg whom they attacked in the 1925 elections as a reactionary and a monarchist, by representing Hindenburg to be the "lesser evil" compared with Hitler. The Russian Mensheviks also resorted to the theory of the "lesser evil." Thus, during the elections to the Second State Duma the Mensheviks, on the pretext that Russia was menaced by the Black Hundreds, urged the workers to vote for the Cadet Party. The Bolsheviks then struck the Mensheviks a crushing blow. They convinced the revolutionary electors that they must vote for the revolutionary candidates by showing that both prior to, during and after the 1905 revolution the Mensheviks supported the liberal bourgeoisie—just as the Social-Democratic Parties are now supporting the bourgeoisie in their respective countries on every question.

The Mensheviks opposed the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Hence, their cries about the Black Hundred danger

A Moscow street, November 1917. Red Guard workers firing from an armoured car.

was only a ruse designed to divert the working class from the correct revolutionary path. The Communist Parties have not yet succeeded in exposing the manoeuvre of the Social-Democratic Parties on the "lesser evil," by the methods with which the Bolsheviks exposed the Menshevik manoeuvre on the Black Hundred danger. And as long as this false manoeuvre of the Social-Democratic Parties remains unexposed to the masses, it will be difficult to free the workers from their influence.

Among the vast masses of the workers there is a desire for unity. There have been many cases in different countries when the crafty agents of the bourgeoisie resorted to the unity slogan to dupe the workers.

The Social-Democrats too sometimes put forward the slogan of unity. And in this the renegade Trotsky hastens to their aid with his proposal for a "bloc" between the Communists and Social-Democrats. In support of his proposal he argues that the Bolsheviks and Comrade Lenin adopted the same tactics.

I have tried to show above how the Bolsheviks established the united front from below in the factories and mills.

Cases have occurred in the history of Bolshevism when the united front policy was applied simultaneously from below and above; but these cases occurred only in the midst of actual struggle. Such cases occurred in 1905 during the strikes, demonstrations, pogroms, uprisings (Moscow) for the duration of the action. So-called contact and federative committees were set up for the duration of the joint action. The united front which sprung up from below in the course of the practical, united struggle, compelled the Menshevik leaders to join the struggle which the Bolsheviks led. Joint manifestos were issued. What was the situation during the Kornilov days in 1917, by reference to which the renegade Trotsky attempts to mislead the Communists?

At the end of August, 1917, Kerensky, not without the knowledge of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, invited Kornilov to march loyal troops on Petrograd to strangle Bolshevik Petrograd. Kornilov came. But before reaching Petrograd he demanded that practically all power be transferred to him. The workers and soldiers who followed the lead of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionists realised that if Kornilov came into power he would not only hang the Bolsheviks but them also. Under pressure of the masses the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries were compelled to join the struggle which was already proceeding under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. They were obliged to distribute arms to the workers of Petrograd for this struggle. This was a "bloc" only for the duration of the struggle against Kornilov. But even during the struggle against Kornilov the Bolsheviks did not discontinue the campaign against the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionists and the Provisional Government, who, by their betrayal of the

interests of the workers, soldiers and peasants, reduced the country to the Kornilov affair and wavered between supporting Kornilov and fighting against him. Can there be any comparison between this and the situation in Germany? How is it possible to deduce from the Kornilov events the necessity of establishing a "bloc" with the German Social-Democrats, say, for the struggle against Fascism when the Social-Democrats are doing nothing but helping the fascists and the bourgeoisie: the Social-Democratic Minister of the Police in Prussia dissolved the Red Front League because the latter fought against the Fascists, but at the same time he not only tolerated but protected the Fascist Shock Troups, while the Social-Democratic police always side with the Fascists and attack the workers whenever they resist the Fascists.

The Communists will not be deceived by the fact that Hindenburg, on the eve of the Prussian elections "dissolved" the Fascist Shock Troops. Officially these Fascist Shock Troops were declared dissolved, but their organisation was not destroyed, in fact no real damage was done them. The object of this manoeuvre was to provide the Social-Democrats with the pretext for claiming that a fight was being waged against the Fascists and thus dupe the workers and win them over to their side.

Practically every Communist Party has made numerous mistakes in the application of the united front tactics. It must be said, however, that there have already been cases of a correct application of the united front tactics. One example of this is provided by the miners' struggle in Northern Bohemia which was led by the Communist Party and red trade unions of Czecho-Slovakia. It is necessary to avoid mistakes and secure the correct and energetic establishment of a Bolshevik united fighting front in the factories and mills from below at all costs.

LEGAL AND ILLEGAL WORK. THE UTILISATION OF LEGAL POSSIBILITIES

The Bolshevik Party in Czarist Russia, although a completely illegal Party, yet managed to utilise legal possibilities to the utmost extent.

Beginning with 1905 legal weeklies and magazines of a more solid nature were published in various parts of vast Russia even in the years of blackest reaction. These were in addition to Pravda, the daily organ of the Bolshevik Party, which played such a tremendous role in the consolidation of the Bolshevik Party for the struggle against Czarism, the bourgeoisie, and the Mensheviks, the Liquidators, the Trotskists, the Conciliators, etc.

In addition to the legal press, illegal Party newspapers and leaflets were of course published.

The illegal Bolshevik Party utilised all legal congresses of public organisations, of doctors, co-operators, teachers, etc., in order to speak on the lines of the Bolshevik programme of demands. It worked in all the legal workers' societies, trade unions, co-operatives, recreation societies and other organisations. Moreover, the Bolshevik Party utilised the labour organisations formed by the Chief of Police, Zubatov and the priest, Father Gapon, during the period preceding 1905, to free the workers from the influence of the police agents and these police traps. It succeeded in exposing the machinations of the police at the meetings of these very organisations.

How successful the work of the Bolsheviks was may be seen in the fact that the police priest, Gapon, was compelled to include the most important demands of the minimum programme of the Bolshevik Party, by the pressure of the masses, in his programme, to avoid being exposed as an agent of the police.

It must be said that not only have the illegal Communist Parties failed to utilise the legal possibilities, but, what is more surprising, even the legal Communist Parties have not succeeded in successfully employing the underground methods of work, though they have far greater opportunities for doing so than the illegal Communist Parties.

When the legal Communist Press is temporarily suspended or when the authorities forbid them to write about the emergency decrees which are aimed against the working class (and have been coming thick and fast lately) or the shooting of demonstrators, etc., the legal Parties have failed to pour a stream of illegal newspapers and leaflets into the factories on the topics which the legal papers are prohibited from dealing with.

The same may be observed with regard to the prohibition of meetings and

Our task is to penetrate the factories and mills at all costs, by all means, if necessary, under another flag, it makes no difference how, but we must penetrate the factories to carry on Communist work in them.

demonstrations. To call meetings ostensibly for other purposes, sudden demonstrations, in the working-class districts, despite the injunctions, is not only possible but necessary after careful preparations have been made.

The authorities and the police close down newspapers for various periods, prohibit labour meetings and demonstrations at the most critical moments. The Communist Party is therefore not only vitally interested in telling the workers what the authorities seek to hide from them, but in getting the workers to protest under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Only in this way can the Communist Parties win the masses and become their leaders. In the absence of good cells in the factories it will be much more difficult to work and maintain connections with the masses when the legal Communist Parties are driven underground.

I. URGENT TASKS

What is the main point that should be emphasised in the course of studies at the Communist Party Schools? Work in the factories at all costs. Unless work is carried on in the factories it will be impossible to win the majority of the working class, and that means impossible to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat successfully. That is the first point. But work in the factories assumes exceptional importance in view of the approaching imperialist war, which will mean, in the first place, the break-up of the legal revolutionary labour movement, of the legal Communist organisations and red trade unions. Under such conditions work in the factories becomes more important than ever, and almost the only means of maintaining contacts with the masses of the factory workers, of influencing them and guiding their actions. Moreover, in time of war, nearly all factories are transferred to the production of munitions and the manufacture of supplies for the imperialist armies of the home country or of other countries; consequently, the fight against war must, more than ever, be carried on in the factory.

Work in the factories is a difficult matter. At the present time, when unemployment is rife all the revolutionary workers are being discharged. Our task is to penetrate the factories and mills at all costs, by all means, if necessary, under another flag, it makes no difference how, but we must penetrate the factories to carry on Communist work in them. Wide and popular agitation must be carried on of the kind that the Bolsheviks carried on in the old days, and from February to October, 1917. The Communist Parties in the principal capitalist countries are still legal. They have their own Press, they can call meetings. But the work of agitation must assume a different character; it must be developed in the factories, at the factory gates, at the tram stops, near the subway stations, wherever the workers and office employees work and congregate. You must train a body of active people who know how to speak briefly and clearly, supply them with information and instructions, and send them into the street, into the factories and mills as agitators. Is this possible? It certainly is possible. The students who return to work should know this, should know how to do this themselves and how to organise this work.

STRIKES

How should strikes be prepared? How should they be conducted, what demands should be advanced? These are not easy questions. They present very many difficulties to the majority of the Communist Parties, red trade unions and trade union oppositions. Up to very recently many of the Communist Parties advanced maximum programme demands only and did not trouble to issue every-day demands.

Now they seem to be saying: Let us advance only every-day demands without

any connection with the high politics and the maximum programme, for when we advanced political points the workers did not listen to us, did not follow us, and the work was done badly. We know from experience that the Bolsheviks always connected politics with economics and economics with politics. I know of cases in 1905 when in starting a political strike the Bolsheviks advanced economic demands and vice versa.

To prepare strikes well is a difficult task. There was an enormous difference between the Social-Democratic reformists and the Bolsheviks both in the aims they pursued in strikes as well as in the organisation and conduct of strikes. The Bolsheviks collected information on the conditions of the workers in the factories; they conducted activities among the individual workers in order to explain the situation to them. When the preparatory work was finished (after the cell had discussed all the details of the strike with the revolutionary non-party activists)* the strike would be declared, the demands issued, a strike committee would be elected which called the workers together and put the questions connected with the strike to them. If the strike committee and the revolutionary activists were arrested a new committee would be formed in the same way. There were no collective agreements then. If strikes broke out unexpectedly—owing to a worsening of labour conditions, accidents, the absence of safety screens around the machine, etc.—the Bolsheviks of the given factory placed themselves in the leadership of the movement, formulated demands, etc. Thus, strikes were prepared from below, in the factories, and in those cases when strikes spread from factory to factory, or from city to city, this did not always occur spontaneously. The party organisations in the city, district and the factory cells discussed methods for broadening the movement, etc. The Bolsheviks, in conducting strikes, pursued two objectives: firstly, an improvement of the material and cultural standards of the workers, and secondly, the broader objective of drawing the largest possible number of workers into the general proletarian struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As soon as trade unions were formed, the Social-Democrats and the reformists introduced such centralisation in the matter of strikes that the trade union members in the factories could not go on strike without the sanction of their trade union. Whenever they went on strike without such sanction and the Union Executive (or chairman) refused to approve the strike, it would be declared to be "unofficial" and the strikers refused material assistance. When they did sanction a strike they took the leadership into their own hands and the strikers had nothing to do except perhaps send pickets to the place of the strike if this was required. When the reformist trade unions grew strong they began to conclude long-term collective agreements with the employers' associations and strikes rarely occurred

The strike at the Putilov ironworks—St. Petersburg, January 1905. Workers waiting at the factory gates.

* Active workers.

during the period the collective agreement remained in force. Strikes, sometimes big strikes, took place whenever a new collective agreement had to be negotiated. In such cases the strikes were led by the Central Committee of the unions. At best the strikers acted as pickets. The reformist trade unions were guided in the conduct of the economic struggle (before the war they conducted strikes) only by the desire to improve the material and cultural standards of the working class, completely neglecting the struggle against the capitalist system as a whole. The Communist Parties, in leading relatively small red trade unions which are almost invariably dual unions,* or trade union oppositions within the reformist trade unions, in most cases adopted not the Bolshevik but the Social-Democratic, reformist method of preparing strikes, the method of preparing them in their offices, without always knowing the sentiments of the workers. For that reason, to this day the workers frequently fail to respond to the strikes called by the red trade unions and trade union oppositions, sometimes workers come out on strike from factories that were not expected to come out on strike.

In the International Party Schools the students must also learn how to prepare, conduct and lead strikes.

3. The Struggle

The Social-Democrats and the reformists must be exposed, they should be shown up for what they say and actually do. This must be done day in and day out, in every article of the party press, in leaflets and in oral agitation.

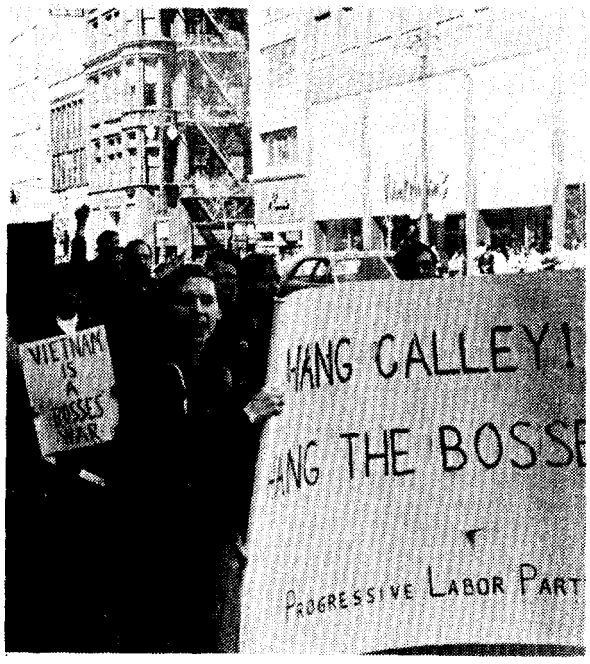
It is necessary to watch the Social-Democratic and reformist press and react immediately to their agitation and leaflets in reply to them. It is necessary to react in a popular and intelligible manner. Every article, every speech written and uttered by the Social-Democrats and reformists can furnish the Communist agitators and propagandists with material for their speeches against the Social-Democrats and Reformists. Only in this way can we expose Social-Democracy; without this it will be hardly possible to expose them. In exposing the Social-Democrats and the reformists you must not overlook the other parties and organisations which exercise or seek to gain influence over the working class (the Catholics, National-Socialists, etc.).

A Bolshevik demonstration in Moscow against the war. 'Workers of the World Unite,' 'Long Live the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party,' 'Down with the War'

The Social-Democratic Parties in the different countries apply various methods in performing their role as the chief social bulwark of the bourgeoisie. In England, until the last elections, the Labour Party openly played its part while in the Government. As soon as it saw that the masses of the workers were turning away in disgust from its policy, that it was endangered from this side, it sacrificed its leaders and went into "opposition." In France, the Socialist Party has not participated in the Government since the war. Sometimes, on the eve of an election, it even votes against this or that Bill in Parliament when it is certain that the Government is assured of a majority without the Socialist votes. In reality the French Socialist Party is a most devoted servant and pillar of bellicose French imperialism. It is hardly necessary to speak about the German Social-Democrats at all. They are past masters in the art of deceiving the masses and the most cunning Party in the Second International in manoeuvring.

The Communist Parties, like the Bolsheviks in Czarist Russia, must anticipate the manoeuvres of the Social-Democrats and warn the masses against them. They must expose them whenever

* Dual Unions: Unions in industries where more than one exists.



Progressive Labor Party demonstration in New York City, against the Vietnam War, 1968

they succeed in their manoeuvres, deceiving the workers and toilers. The Communist Parties, the red trade unions and all the mass revolutionary organisations, must tirelessly expose the Social-Democrats and the reformists, for unless the workers are freed from their influence the Communist Parties cannot win the majority of the working class, without which it will be impossible to fight successfully against the bourgeoisie. The Communist Parties must also carry on a vigorous and unrelenting struggle against the National-Socialists, who take advantage of the treachery of the Social-Democrats and reformists as well as of the mistakes and weaknesses of the Communist Parties to extend their influence over the petty bourgeoisie and permeate the unemployed with the aid of their demagogic slogans, frequently even with the aid of Communist slogans.

4. UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment is rife. None but the Communist Party pays any attention to the unemployed. Nevertheless, even when it was possible to organise the unemployed, when it was easy to do this by championing the every-day interests of the unemployed, the Communist Parties failed to take advantage of the situation. They failed to achieve such organisation. There are not many Communists in the factories since most of them have been discharged. It is not easy to work in the factory. But why has the work not been organised among the unemployed, at the labour exchanges, in the lodging houses, in the bread and soup lines? There is an enormous number of members of the Party and of revolutionary trade union organisations among the unemployed; is it difficult to organise the work among these comrades? In Czecho-Slovakia and Poland the unemployed organisations succeeded in places in mobilising large masses and brought pressure to bear upon the municipalities, as a result of which, the latter were forced to issue grants to the unemployed. In America the unemployed receive no aid either from the State, or from the employers, and are forced to depend upon charity. Large numbers of them are being evicted from their homes. During 1930 and 1931 352,469 families were evicted in New York alone. There is a vast field of activity for the revolutionary and Communist organisations, but they only take advantage of these conditions to a very slight degree. At one moment they set up an exclusive unemployed organisation, at another they spend all their time organising demonstrations and overlook the need for establishing kitchens for the unemployed, for organising a movement capable of preventing the eviction of the unemployed, demanding and securing benefits for the unemployed, etc., etc.

WHY THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNIONS LAG BEHIND THE REVOLUTIONARY LABOUR AND PEASANT MOVEMENTS

I have tried to show the difference between the tactics, organisation, methods and content of work, and ultimate aims of the Bolsheviks and Social-Democrats, and I have also tried to show the causes of this difference. We, the workers on the E.C.C.I., sometimes hear arguments to the effect that the old Bolshevik experience does not apply to the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, especially in regard to methods of work in the factories. The experience of the past few years, however, has refuted this view. Where the Bolshevik methods of work have been applied, and flexible tactics in the factories, they have yielded excellent results. Does not the intensity of the struggle, the mass character of the labour and peasant movement in

Poland and the leading role the Communist Party plays in this struggle, in this movement, reveal the superiority of Bolshevik methods over Social-Democratic ones? You must remember that the Polish revolutionary proletariat, the former S.D.P. of Poland and Lithuania, now the Communist Party of Poland, in spite of the mistakes it committed, fought shoulder to shoulder with the Bolshevik Party of Russia. They adopted the Bolshevik methods of work; that is why they have not become isolated from the Polish proletariat despite the ruthless fascist terror in the country. But the Communist Parties, the red trade unions and the trade union opposition in the capitalist countries which have not yet freed themselves from Social-Democratic traditions, have not adopted, are not carrying out, or are carrying out poorly, the Bolshevik methods of work and forms of organisation, are not giving the work a Bolshevik content, are lagging behind the revolutionary labour movement, behind the revolutionary events and are unable to consolidate their growing political influence organisationally (for instance, we get four to five million votes and at the same time we fail to organise resistance to the employers' attack on wages). This backwardness will be inevitable until the Communist Parties, the red trade unions and the trade union opposition discard the Social-Democratic traditions and assimilate and apply the truly Bolshevik experience in every field of their political work and every-day activities.

TRAINING CADRES AND THE METHODS OF TEACHING IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY SCHOOLS

The question of cadres is assuming tremendous importance for the Communist Parties, red trade unions and trade union opposition, in the present conditions. The International Communist Party Schools therefore play an important part in training revolutionary cadres.

The question of instruction in these Party Schools is of vital importance because the need for theoretically-trained cadres who combine theoretical knowledge with practical experience is very acute in the sections of the Communist International. This need has not diminished in recent years, but, on the contrary it has increased. We have not trained such cadres in sufficient numbers. The Communist Parties in the capitalist countries can obtain these cadres from the International Communist Party Schools. Some of these Party Schools have been in existence for some time now, but the Comintern has not yet received the cadres necessary for Communist work. To be sure, when the students of the International Communist Party Schools return to their Parties upon graduating, they know, perhads, the most important works of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, quite well, and in some countries they even become Party leaders.

But what the Communist Parties have not yet received from the International Communist Party Schools are comrades capable of applying Marxism and Leninism to the local conditions, capable of organising and conducting mass work, and this is precisely what the Communist Parties are mainly in need of at the present time.

They have not been getting workers really capable of helping them to rebuild the Parties, the red trade unions and the trade union oppositions on a factory basis.

What are the causes of this? The causes are as follows: the students study Party structure in the Soviet Union; that is those forms of Party structure which cannot be fully applied in their countries at the present time, but only after the capture of power by the proletariat. But they even learn the Party structure of the C.P.S.U. superficially: they do not study the methods of mass work, the mobilisation of the masses, the different approach to the different sections of the toilers, mass agitation, forms of organisation of mass agitation, the relations between the Communist fractions (especially in the lower mass non-Party organisations) and the respective cells and Party committees, the work of the factory Party cells and of the factory trade union committees, etc., with sufficient attention. This is the chief point. They do not study and assimilate the experience of the period preceding the capture of the power by the working class, that is the experience of the Bolsheviks in the Tsarist days and in the Kerensky days from February to October.

It is this experience which our Communist Parties need most.

It is this experience which contains elements of similarity with the situation in the Communist Parties in the capitalist

countries at the present time. Of course there are also points of difference.

That is why I dealt with the difference between the position of the Bolshevik Party under the Czar, and that of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries at the present time.

The fact that the Communist Parties do not get the kind of graduates they need from the International Party Schools proves that the instruction given is apparently not conducted with a view to the peculiarities of each individual Party, to its development, traditions and former customs.

The task of the International Communist Party Schools is to assist our Communist Parties to assimilate the experience of the Bolsheviks, both in Party organisation as well as in Party work as a whole, in such a way as to enable them to apply this experience to the conditions prevailing in their respective countries. The conditions in the various countries differ. Conditions in Germany differ very much from those in France, they differ very much from those in England and not less from those in the United States. In every country the labour movement has its own peculiar features, history and traditions, its peculiar forms of Party organisation and of labour organisations. When you are giving instruction according to groups of countries you must bear this in mind. It should be stated that teachers can obtain the necessary material and facts concerning each country, and the conditions prevailing there, from the students who have taken part in the practical work of their Parties.

The International Communist Party Schools must help the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement to train genuinely Bolshevik cadres.

FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM
ORGANIZE
St John's 1199 Now!
Workers Unite
Smash Racism
Hire

Chronic Illness

by H. George

St. John's hospital is an impressive sight from Kennedy Boulevard. Large, white pillars guard the white double door. A circular driveway makes a slow arch up to the door, and then drives away past a lawn and trees, back to the boulevard. On the top of the hospital sits a little dome-like cupola, which might have held a bell or sentryman in early American times, but perhaps was always ornamental, even then.

At any rate, this entire entrance to the hospital isn't used any more. You go in around the other side, by way of 3rd Ave.

They've remodeled here, and from the street level the large cement blocks give a modern, efficient appearance. But if you look up you can see plastic wind-breakers billowing, like they're about to blow away. They don't, though, even in the strongest wind. Inside square, vinyl chairs in orange and wood, gift shops and information booths decorate the lobby like a shopping center mall. There is indoor-outdoor carpeting. And a coffee shop for both workers and visitors with eleven vending machines.

A guard stands at the foot of the escalator, checking to be sure you're either a worker or a visitor. Then you follow the corridors to the various buildings, A through F. Numbers in front of the elevators—six feet high in black on orange—tell you what floor you're on at all times. Something like being on Sesame Street.

On the 11th floor of C building, Ernestine Graves moved quickly across the waxed tiles. She put a hand on her side as the sharp pain caught her, but she told herself Agnes wouldn't

be calling if it weren't important. She stood at Agnes' bedside and held out her arms, strong and heavy with muscle, a deep chestnut-brown contrast to the pink uniform. Mrs. Agnes Morrison looked even more pale next to the strength and color of the aide.

"I have to go so bad," Agnes said.

Ernestine cranked the head of the bed for the furthest upright position and placed her arms around the old lady's waist. "Try to put your arms on my neck today, yourself."

But Mrs. Morrison's wasted muscles could not lift even the loose flesh on her arms. She had lost about 75 pounds—and the ability to walk—very recently, and her skin hung heavy.

Ernestine, from her closeness to Agnes, lifted each arm and placed it around her own neck. She then began the transfer from the bed to the wheelchair. Mrs. Morrison wasn't considered sick enough to have a commode since she was able to walk two weeks before, and it exhausted her to have a bedpan.

Why did she bother with getting Agnes up? Ernestine asked herself. She had to think of her own back. Agnes could help very little lately. The alternatives were to let her go in the bed, like most did, or use a Hoyer lift.

It wasn't true, though, that most older patients were naturally incontinent. They didn't have to go in bed if you agreed on a regular time with them and got them up once in the night. They had done this once when Ernestine first came, as an experiment. That was when they had more staff, too. Now they just laid down the blue waterproof chucks on the beds and on the wheelchairs. Until, toward the end of the week, they ran out of chucks.

The Hoyer lift worked on the principle of hydraulic pressure, lifting the person in a sling. It only took one person to operate. But while the patient was in the air they became more like a piece of cargo than a human being. There was the wordless message that "you can't walk, and you're too much trouble for us to handle." Somehow once you started using the Hoyer with someone, you always used it from then on, in chronic. That was partly because the patients' muscles atrophied, and they got more difficult to move. With Agnes, Ernestine could remember so clearly when she could walk!

Mrs. Morrison was seated now on the toilet. She looked up, "I'm getting worse. You don't have to pretend."

Ernestine nodded. She waited a moment to see if Agnes was going to say something else.

"I know I'm dying," Agnes said.

Ernestine put one hand on the small, rounded-down shoulder. "I honestly don't know that," she said. "They don't know, either."

"I can't take any more tests. I can't go another day without eating." There were tears in Mrs. Morrison's eyes.

With all the money this country is putting into research, Ernestine thought, you'd think they would know a lot more. All this genetics stuff in the papers. That wasn't going to help the people crippled for life from their jobs.

"They may not be doing any tests on **anyone** for the next couple days..." Ernestine paused, not wanting to say more right now, "I'm going to moisten the paper. I'll be right back."

"You know that makes it softer for me." Agnes looked up and was crying again, but without a sound. "You're so good to me." And she squeezed the hand that was larger than her own; Ernestine was surprised at the strength. The hand was shaking, though, and Ernestine squeezed it back, firmly, until the shaking stopped.

"Mrs. Graves, where've you been?" That sounded like Sun Ch'en, the Phillippine nurse. "I thought you must be on your lunch."

"It's too early for my lunch."

"I know, but I looked everywhere. Mrs. Pulansky's got an emergency."

Ernestine, saying nothing, looked directly at Miss Ch'en.

"Well, you and I know it's not an emergency," Sunny admitted. "But you know what happened the last time we didn't pay attention to her."

Ernestine's mouth turned down at one corner as she remembered how Mrs. Pulansky had managed from her corner bed to stuff feces through the slats of the covered radiator. "Let me finish Mrs. Morrison."

"I'll help." Together they moved Agnes' light frame quickly. As they washed her hands at the sink, Sunny spoke again. "With Janey out sick, there's only four of us. And Milton's got all he can handle with the men. That's really three, with 25 women. And they're still talking about layoffs. I'm sick of getting blamed for all the rot around here." She smoothed the clean johnny coat around Agnes' knees. "I'm sorry to talk so unprofessionally around you, Mrs. Morrison, but you'd have to be blind and deaf not to know what's going on around here."

Agnes smiled. "You can say that again."

"We're really caught in the middle, even Sister Rosellen complains all the time now." Sunny went on as they wheeled Agnes back, "between the doctors and the patients and the administration. No way out of this **mess**."

"Can't you please help me now?" Missy Maloney, 89 years old, cried as they passed her bed.

"Oh Missy, Missy. Help yourself. Use your walker," Sunny said impatiently, "that's what it's there for."

"I can't."

"WE can't now. If you can get to the phone with it, you can get to the bathroom on it. That'll make you stronger. You should be glad you can still

walk around."

"You tell me that every day."

"It's true every day." Ernestine helped Agnes into her bed while Sunny started toward Mrs. Pulansky. "You could do more than you do every day."

"You always tell me that too." Mary made a face and pulled her aluminum walker a few inches closer to her bed.

"I think you just enjoy bugging me. I notice how long you stand up talking to your boyfriend on the phone." Sunny motioned to Ernestine to hurry.

"Damn busybody." Missy Maloney swung her legs over the side.

They helped Mrs. Pulansky sit up, moving the top half of 435 pounds to make it easier to put on one of her own, clean nightgowns.

Sunny panted, "I'm going to have to leave you now, Ernie, but I've got to go to Mr. Rubenstein on the other side. His IV.'s stopped again, and that's the only one Milton's been unable to get going himself."

"So you're going," said Mrs. Pulansky. Her puffy lips stuck out from her face a bit further, and she wiggled her large body in displeasure. "She's so rough," she glanced at Ernestine. "And you always know just what I want." Her eyes, pinpoints of light blue set deep in the folds of her face, fixed on Sunny, pleadingly.

"You said exactly the same thing to Sister Rosellen when she and I brought you out to the courtyard last week."

"Oh, if you don't flatter her she never does nothing for you," Mrs. Pulansky shifted her eyes back and forth, "I just said **you know** what I want," she insisted, "and you **do**."

"I know what you **need**," said Sunny, keeping her voice even but winking at Ernestine as she walked away toward the men's unit.

"I'm going to help you roll on your side on the count of three," said Ernestine in her most matter-of-fact tone.

"I can't." Mrs. Pulansky whimpered.

"Yes you **can**. I'm helping you."

Mrs. Pulansky slowly moved over on one side. It was a feat, without clothing. Sweat formed on her temples. "You're not doing anything," she accused, though she felt Ernestine pushing against her back, from the other side of the bed. "I think you want me to piss in the bed."

"Not really." The pain in Ernestine's back showed in her face. She was sweating, too. "Let's get the pan underneath you now. OK, come back over. Are you on?"

Mrs. Pulansky grunted. You couldn't tell if it was a yes or a no. But meantime, Coreen Jones in the adjacent bed could at least get clean sheets. She was a grandmother of 22 and great-grandmother of 10, and she had changed them all at one time or another. Her own bed was wet now. Ernestine was finished smoothing one side, and Coreen was holding herself on her side by gripping the bedrails . . .

"I can't go."

"Try, Mrs. Pulansky."

"I did try," she whined. "I'm going to get a ring on my bottom if you leave me lying on this thing any longer."

"One minute." And she rolled Coreen toward her, off the wet sheets onto the smooth dry ones. No time to clean her properly. Just a swipe of the washcloth. Smooth the other side. Back to Mrs. Pulansky.

"Oh, you're hurting me. You almost made me get stuck like before."

Ernestine's back felt like it was cracking in half. Just enough to get that pan out. There. Mrs. Pulansky's fat spread from one side of the bed to the other so that you could not put the side rails up. She had to be bathed this afternoon. Time or no. The smell. Ernestine's heart began to beat in her head. It was past time for lunch. You can't do everything this morning. You can't do anything alone.

In the "Break-Away" room in the basement the fan beat through the air. It stirred the upper part of the room only so that you couldn't feel the breeze when you were sitting down. The breakaway was the only place the workers were allowed to eat. They were just allowed to buy things upstairs in the coffee shop.

The heat in the basement—for the main kitchen was down the hall from the breakaway—was unbelievable! How could anyone in Dietary stand it! Ernestine felt the hot blast from the fan but smiled when she saw that her friend, Mary, was still on her lunch.

Mary Lattimore was slightly younger than Ernestine and had been at St. John's Chronic two years less. Mary's hair was cut close to her head for the summer, and she sat fanning her face with a newspaper, her feet up on a worn hassock. Her eyes were bright and lively. "Come share my air conditioner." She waved the newspaper in a circle.

Ernestine settled in a chair opposite Mary, putting her feet on the same hassock. The muscles of her back relaxed. The pain was deep in her kidneys, it seemed. She winced.

"You're looking tired today."

"Thanks for noticing. I don't know what it is, anymore." Ernestine felt too tired just yet to get out her jar of orange juice with the ice cubes she put in from the machine. Instead, she pushed at the plastic tote bag with her hand. "Things are

heavier lately."

"I know what you mean." Mary waited for Ernestine to continue. She tilted a can of diet soda to her mouth, emptying it. She made a face, "Nasty stuff."

"It's not that I have to take care of Ayisha's kids while she's working shift. I can handle that. Thomas's sick again. But it ain't that. It's maybe my pressure. But I've always had **that**. Partly it is the patients seem in worse shape..."

"I go along with you there. We can't move them enough. They get another sore everytime you look."

"What it is." Ernestine's voice was deliberate, "these last 6 or 8 months, since they haven't been hiring. Maybe we've dropped half. There were eight of us, counting Sister Rosellen and Sunny. Now there are four. I used to think there was nothing I couldn't do so far as the patients..."

"They get to be a part of you."

"And you know what they want, before they even know. But suddenly, working almost by myself, I feel them slipping past me. I thought I preferred working alone, where I had my own system. Now I can't keep up. You don't know how I hate to admit that."

"I never **heard** you complain!" Mary shook her head.

"Me'n the Lord, we know how much I can bear." Ernestine stated this as a fact. "We work together."

"I know." Long ago Mary had stopped trying to convince Ernestine that, if nothing else, her great faith was killing her.

"I meet with you and the others because some's not as strong's me. So we got to be organized. I know God don't help them that don't help themselves, and you got to be organized to do that."

Mary nodded. Her friend had told her this many times. But today Mary felt this was just preliminary talk toward something else.

"But I don't know about helping lead..." she lowered her voice, "lead the strike. I know what we have to do. **I told** you all most of what to do, I know. I start thinking about what does the strike mean, though, and I don't know if I can."

Mary crossed to sit next to her. "What do you mean about the strike?"

"We brought it up about needing socialism in our leaflets, and the way I see it, the strike's a step toward socialism. But can I lead people against the hospital that IS the church? To something else? It's all together in my mind, you see. I don't know what I'm leading people to, if it's away from the Lord. That is the truth."

"Ernestine, not only you but everyone's been wondering: Does this mean I agree with a revolution to go out on strike? The hospital leaflets say everybody's being duped." Mary studied her friend. "You're saying you think you might be betraying the Lord, isn't that it?"

"Really." Ernestine's face had worry on it though her skin bore no lines. "If I had some sign. See, your God is in the people, you've told me," she was thinking out loud. "But the Lord is something else again. That's what's got me worried. It's more than a strike against just the administration."

Mary was trying hard to see things from Ernestine's point of view. "Maybe there's a couple things here. One is that you're not so sure if socialism's what you want, when your religion is so important. And the other thing is striking against the church..."

Ernestine shook her head, but not in disagreement with Mary's analysis. "I think about these things all the time now." She added. "I pray every night for God to give me the answer."

"You may not agree with me," said Mary, "but when you do decide it'll be because of thinking things through and using your eyes and ears and ideas to guide you. While I've argued with you the church wouldn't be a part of the government under socialism, neither would religious people be persecuted.

"For instance, the Chinese communists, when there was a drought and the peasants usually prayed for rain—the communists asked them to try seeding the clouds one time. And see which worked better, one time using science and the next time praying. Those communists thought, and I do too, that most people who truly believe are working people who really want a better life for their fellow man."

"That's what I've been telling you the Kingdom of God is."

Mary knew better than to argue religion with Ernie. She had to hold her tongue. You didn't get anywhere saying you didn't think belief in an afterlife had to keep you from fighting for workers' power. That was too abstract, too metaphysical.

"I think it's connected, these two questions of yours, something about the way we're all taught to believe in God that builds on our hopes for a better life. You don't want to be in a position to be telling people one thing about a better life and socialism, and have it turn into its opposite, isn't that right?"

"To me, that's what politics is," Ernestine stated. "In fact, that's what I'm really afraid of. Getting involved in something I don't know about. What I really know is the Lord, like you know the Progressive Labor Party."

"Ern, politics is really ideas put into action. If we want to build a society that's able to provide patient care, we're not going to ignore the ideas like racism that divide people today—killing them. We fight back, and the politicians who ask everybody to vote for them, they're windbags and crooks."

"I know you," said Ernestine. "But it's the people in the Party I don't know that bothers me. I mean, if you're willing to fight so hard to improve conditions, as I know you are, then why bring in the Party at all, and all this stuff about socialism? You're entitled to your beliefs. But it doesn't have anything to do with what either one of us believes in, really. We **all** agree we need more help. Just stick with that!"

"Then I'd be no different from the union leaders and presidents who say we should be satisfied with a little raise or a $50 tax rebate. Look at when they hired a few people here last year. Father Milligan did what he said he would, but meantime we've got no raise for 1-1/2 years. We really paid for those people out of our own pockets. And now we're worse off than before in terms of staff.

"We all have to give a little. I don't mind so much when everybody sacrifices a little. Isn't that like socialism?"

"Did Fehnborg give a cent of his salary?" Mary went on, "I know Father Milligan rides around in a beat-up VW," she tried to anticipate Ernestine's next objection, "but he's smarter than Fehnborg. He's not quite so obvious."

Mary felt they were getting far from the point. There were so many unanswered questions, like opening Pandora's box. And Ernie was the worker closest to the Party! There was so little time!

Their "fraction" group—called fraction because 1/6 or 1/7 of the people at the meetings were communists, while the rest agreed to work with communists but were not so themselves—had decided they would strike tomorrow at 11:00. All the other workers knew.

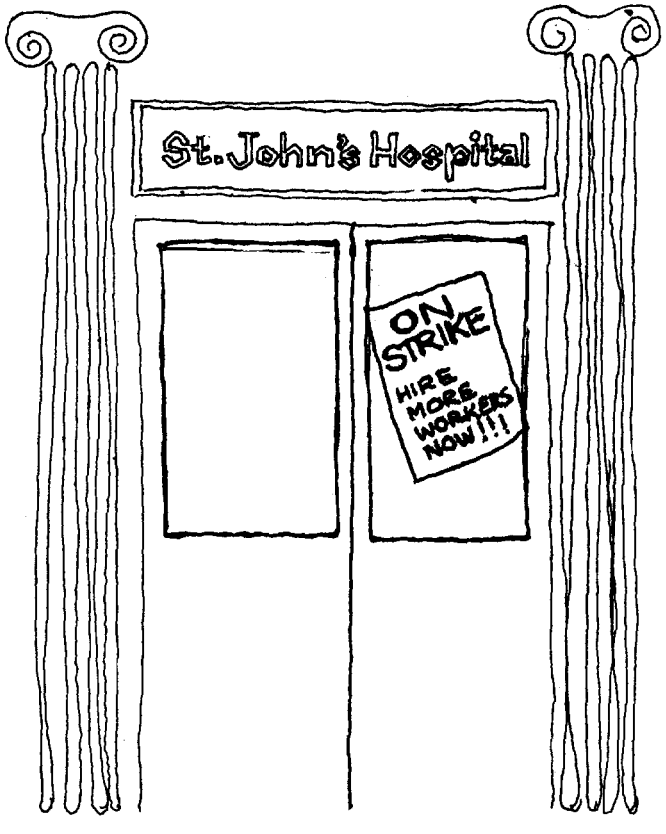
But Ernie's ability to give **political** leadership during the strike was still very important. For to really win this particular job action would not be measured in terms of dollars and cents or number of workers hired. Those things would be gone again tomorrow. Winning a few workers closer to understanding the necessity for a future revolution—that would be **real** victory! Mary needed Ernestine to help her do this. And unless the Party grew here at St. Johns it would take that much longer to win enough people into the party to guarantee that revolution. Mary felt desperate for time, and their lunch half-hour had only four minutes to go.

"Look at St. John's Nursing Home, whose patients we used to care for. Now there's many more patients from **other** nursing homes that are closed down. They say beds are going empty in the hospitals, but with the unemployment, people don't have the insurance. They only come in when they're half dead, and on medicaid and medicare—that you can't even get if you're part-time working. I think we only see the surface of a whole lot more sick people that don't ever make it into the hospital." Her words tumbled out, there was so much to say.

"Right here in New Jersey, there's a TB epidemic. I mean that's really barbaric, something that yesterday was practically wiped out because it's preventable, and it's back today because of the cutbacks in X-ray clinics. Ern, we can't **live** just patching up this system in spots!"

Mary's voice rose above the sound of the fan and the clatter of carts in the hall, and a man in Dietary uniform-white on the couch at the far side of the room rolled over to peer at the wall clock. He shifted the cushion under his head and turned his back once again.

"It's time to go," Ernestine put her jar back in the plastic bag. "I'm going to meet with you after work, like I said, anyway. I'll think about what you said, meantime." She took Mary's arm, saying softly, "Do'y know, sometimes I wish we hadn't put out all those leaflets talking about socialism together with the strike. People have so many questions I can't answer. It's not so much I'm **against** socialism myself, I'm just afraid they won't be with us, as much..." The two women walked together out of the breakaway area into the stifling hall, where no air stirred.



56 CHRONIC ILLNESS

The switch on the intercom machine flipped to the OFF position with a flick of Fehnborg's index finger. He swiveled in his leather chair, took up a pen and moved it over his check list. He thought how wise he had been to invest in the intercom system to the breakaway.

He read: Dietary: 42 against the strike, 37 for.

In the nursing home Fehnborg had managed in NYC, he used to let the Dietary workers, the ones in the basement, drink during working hours. Security was ordered to look the other way, and not to follow up every whiff of marijuana. One or two workers could always be relied upon to bring it into the basement.

However, there was still almost a 50-50 balance of Puerto Rican and Blacks in Dietary. Even you can't accomplish miracles in one year, he consoled himself.

Engineering: 55 against, 14 for. That was all right. Most of the men against the strike were on shift and nights. They could take care of any repairs and incinerator back ups then.

Nurses: 32 to 118. Good.

Housekeeping: 103 to 79. Well, it was better than it had been. He had hired only West Indians when he first came up until the present day. They hated American Blacks. He smiled, moving his finger down the list.

Nurses' aides: 147 to 59. It was that communist bitch!

Peter Fehnborg had managed two separate nursing homes before moving to Jersey City's St. John's. He hadn't been exposed himself in the recent NYC scandals around corrupt administration. He knew when to play smart and get out. He foresaw the end of the era of individual control over medicare expenditures in the nursing homes. Fehnborg decided, therefore, to make the move to chronic care facilities in New Jersey by convincing the Jersey City machine with his credentials: No union ever got into his places! He proved he could control the workers, but it had taken him five years to work his way into Jersey City. No strike and no communist was going to get in his way!

He went over the figures again, pro-strike, anti-strike. The doctors' staff would all come in, he decided. They and the nurses could run the show better. Peter Fehnborg looked down at his neatly polished fingernails in a row on the edge of the check-list. A job well done. (Should he get rid of Lattimore **before** the strike, if it came off? Too risky.) He tugged at his ginger-colored Afro. The instant pain he felt stopped him short in his old habit, reminding him some of his hair was recently implanted. He patted it back in place and walked over to his mirror.

It was a full-length mirror he'd installed in the back of the door to his private bathroom. He could organize his thoughts better when he gazed at his appearance two or three times a day while at work. He touched up his pale brown cheeks with honey brown blusher—just a smidgen—to give a ruddy look. Fehnborg glanced closer at his hairline. You couldn't tell! (He would fire her after the threat of the strike was over, when the workers were resigned they were lucky to have the jobs they had—with a little raise. If it didn't keep up with inflation, it's better than unemployment, eh, Peter!) He smiled to himself as the full length reflection showed off his fawn cashmere-blend 3 piece suit. A pretty penny.

The buzzer sounded suddenly, making him jump and scuttle out of the bathroom.

"Father Milligan is here."

"Please tell him to come in. I'm expecting him." He quickly straightened the pictures of his wife and teenage son. Put the odd papers in the drawer. Nothing in disarray. The door opened.

Peter Fehnborg stood up. Father Milligan was about 6 inches taller than he, and he was very good looking in the plain black attire, with his blue eyes and thick, black hair. He knew very well how to use those looks in the parish, too. And he had ruthlessly cut the parishioners out from under those above him, to get where he was today. His sermons were subtle, but compelling. He knew how to deliver and make the other priests appear less competent in their knowledge and style.

But the way he got the women and men alike to tell him their secrets was that he really enjoyed visiting them in their homes. It was something many of the other priests avoided. The buildings were so run down, especially the projects. But he would come any hour, anywhere, and his enjoyment of their hospitality and their complex life stories was genuine. He got to know the people's hearts this way.

"We understand each other." Milligan began. He pulled a chair close, crossed his long legs and pulled out a crumpled pack of cigarettes. "But I think there're some things you should be aware of."

Fehnborg leaned closer, still smiling and feeling his chin. Should he have shaved again, he wondered?

"One of your women, a Mrs. Ernestine Graves, is beginning to have some doubts as to the relationship of the church with this institution." Milligan leaned forward, holding the lit cigarette back, knowing what offended Peter. "If she's questioning, she's not the only one. I suggest you tighten up your ship, Peter."

"It's that goddamned communist she's friendly with."

"Get rid of her."

"Don't tell me how to run my business," Fehnborg said quickly, instantly angry with himself for any show of irritability. Then he leaned

back expansively in his chair. "We've been working together too long to argue like this, Harold. It's just that I've been considering the case carefully, that's all. I think it would be better to fire her when I've announced the 5% raise and dental plan." He leaned forward earnestly, his hands folded on the desk. "Sister Hawkins has kept a careful nose count of who goes to the hospital chapel. And believe me, it's on the increase."

"Your ignorance is showing, Peter." Father Milligan gave a brush of his wrist. "There's always a temporary upsurge when they get squeezed. It's over-all trends I'm interested in. You can't bank on spurts like you're speaking of."

Fehnborg wiped the palms of his hands on his new suit, under the desk so Father Milligan couldn't see. Then he placed his manicured fingers neatly on the desk top, in a row. "You've been around Jersey City longer than I have, Harold," Peter chuckled, feeling ever so slightly relieved by admitting he was wrong.

"That's right, my friend." Milligan smiled, but his eyes were expressionless.

"She goes. Tomorrow. The sooner the better as far as I'm concerned." He had to allay the one persistent fear: "You **will** back me up on this, Harold." It was a question more than a statement.

"So long as we can work with you, Peter, we're not throwing away a year's investment." This time when he smiled there was humor in his eyes. "How about a drink after work, old man?"

"Sure." Fehnborg brightened. "And I appreciate your directness." He extended his smooth, soft hand. "At least one knows where he stands with you."

Fehnborg felt a mixture of confidence and renewed fear as Father Milligan left his office. The fuse at the hospital would be lit sooner than he would have done it. The politics, however—the messiest business—would be taken care of with the church and Jersey City money. That was reassuring. But at the same time, it was disquieting to recognize how few decisions he was actually allowed to make, lately.

He dialed his home number. "I don't think I'll be home for awhile after work today. Something's come up." He thought how relaxing it would be to just have a few drinks and dinner out and a long chat.

"Oh honey, I've already put in the roast." She was hurt. It was not the roast. They had been through a lot together.

"I **will** be home for dinner, then. After this business obligation. An hour, no more I promise." He felt good, suddenly. He could still have a few drinks and feel virtuous about coming home, after all. "I do love you very much," he said.

The St. John's workers' "fraction" meeting that same night was in disagreement from the beginning. They had been planning to strike for months. On that they were unified. But what ideas should come forward during the strike was not at all settled. Their differences of opinion showed, perhaps, in the way they scattered themselves about Ruth's living room, some seated some standing.

"The guys in the kitchen aren't ready to hear this socialism stuff."

Rodney McDaniels was standing in back of the red-padded bar. He wasn't drinking but used the top of the bar as a place for his forearms. He hadn't moved from his position there since the meeting started. "Take that last leaflet of ours, for instance. I think it brought up more questions than it answered. People really wanna know, is this a communist strike, or what?"

Immediately, Phyllis Stevens nodded agreement. "You should hear them in the mending room talking about they thought this was going to be a strike and does this mean they're communists if they go out. I think we've gone too far, for right now."

"We should put out another leaflet and tell everyone we just want a union and that's what the strike is about and **say** these other ideas don't have anything to **do** with what we want right **now**." Vi Cunningham talked rapidly and decisively, as always. She was a tiny-boned woman who worked in housekeeping and had a tremendous amount of energy.

It appeared as though most people in the room would have gone along with her proposal, judging from some expressions here and there, or perhaps because it was the first concrete suggestion.

Vi turned to look at Mary, who sat on the couch with one of her legs up. (She was supposed to keep them both up four hours every day, something she found impossible to do; it had become a habit now, though.) Mary said, "Don't you see what a few promises have done to us from when we started organizing? We all agreed that there wasn't **any** union that kept up with the cost of living or that wasn't racist. Think about the racist divisions in Local 1199. I'm not saying that getting a union in wouldn't be good. But it's not the answer to people's problems. If we leave out talking about socialism, we're telling people a union's enough. Or that hiring a few people's enough."

"But it's more than what we have now, don't you see?" Rodney seemed immovable.

"We've both worked at St. John's the longest." It was Ernestine. "You 18, me 17, almost 18 years. July. So how do you come off when you think about it?" One of Ernestine's strengths was that she forced other people to think things through for themselves. Her own questions, she decided, were better off in the background for the time being. Those things she was putting to Rodney,

she had already decided for herself. "Well?"

Rodney was concerned for the moment with tracing his forefinger on the polished surface of the bar.

"I want to answer that," said Phyllis. She worked in laundry for 5 years, before that in people's homes. But this paid more. "It's been stinking hot in the pressing room, winter and summer ever since the place was **built**. And it would cost too much money to do the rewiring for air conditioning, and that's the only thing that would make my job bearable. But meanwhile they put carpeting and air conditioning in the administration **offices**. 'Oh it's **different** on the first floor for wiring than in the sub basement,' they said to us. Damn straight, it's always going to be **different.**" Phyllis looked quickly around the room, as if surprised at her own outburst.

"I think," Ruth finally spoke, "that that's what a lot of people feel about socialism, that it wouldn't be any different, really." She added softly, "I know that's what I think."

They were all silent, each with a different thought.

"OK, it boils down to what do we need these ideas for anyway." Mary had been speaking with people in the Party's City Committees since the fall about the need for fractions on the job. The idea was a relatively new one, and it was difficult to carry out. "If the main issue seems to be with people that are wondering if this makes them communists to follow our leadership in the strike, we'd have to say no. If they ask if they have to agree with the need for a revolution to go out for better conditions, we'd also answer no. But—" Mary focused her eyes on Vi. She could not concentrate on all the disagreements, all the people in one shot. It was easier for her if she looked at just one person. "But, we can't hide from very patiently explaining to people that they are all one class of workers . . ."

Vi cut in. "Don't you think people know that? They know who's the bosses and who's the workers."

"Wait a minute, Vi. How do you know what Mary was going to say?" Ernestine put her hand on Vi's arm. She spoke gently, "I think people have all kinds of ideas what makes things rotten. The fact most of the bosses are white, for example. Or that there have been bosses for the **longest** time in history. But what they've all got in common is thinking it's got to go on this way. Unions or no, YOU CAN'T FIGHT CITY HALL. That means they think you can't do anything **about** this system. So might as **well** see if we can make things just a little bit better." She shook her head slowly. "It's a loser." Ernestine looked up suddenly at Rodney.

"You're right," he said. "I guess I wish you weren't. He looked around and straightened his arms.

"You're always going to have a few people getting rich off the rest, sooner or later," said Vi.

And so the arguments kept on. But while they argued they began to plan, and Rodney moved from behind the bar to sit on the floor and make a map of the hospital and the streets around it.

Not all the questions were answered, but communist ideas began to make more sense to them. Part of the plan involved organizing other fractions from the phone company and the Colgate Plant on the Hudson River. The unity of different kinds of workers, including some people on unemployment, certainly had not been raised by any of the unions with whom they'd been in contact. Mary thought she could get a few people from the other Jersey City hospitals to join the picket lines, too.

"See, it's action around what you believe that means you're dealing with what it is to be a communist," Ernestine explained to the others when Mary had outlined her plan.

Ernestine was so capable of defending Progressive Labor. She had done that many times. But even on their way home, she brought up her feelings concerning her role vis a vis the Party organization.

"I've made up my mind, with this strike, at least, that I'm going to be a follower. I'll do what I can to get other people out, I mean, but I can never **stand** for the Party. Do you know what I mean?"

Mary knew fully well what she meant. It was the familiar break in their relationship that seemed more unbearable tonight because Ernestine had helped counter so many anti-communist notions. Because this was the night before the important day tomorrow. And because Mary felt she would never understand the thing which separated them still, Ernestine's unshakable faith in her Lord. As they said good-bye, Mary felt like she was on a piece of land that had broken off and that she, and the party, were drifting further from Ernestine and the mainland.

Don't be silly, she told herself, as she waited for the bus. Look how many people were brought a little closer through all this. She pictured, for a moment, hundreds instead of tens of workers streaming from the Colgate plant and Ma Bell building, and the entire city surging toward a general strike. But then she thought of her close friend once again, and her heart felt sad even while her mind's thoughts were mostly happy ones.

And at home, Ernestine was not sleeping soundly. She had prayed, as usual, and it had not eased her into sleep. "A sign, that I'm doing the right thing . . ." For even though she'd told Mary she didn't want to lead anything, Ernestine was

not one to follow others when her mind was equally prepared. She decided to keep waiting for a sign, but even that decision left her hanging, which was why she couldn't sleep.

Maybe I'm just excited about tomorrow, she asked herself. Or maybe it was true, what Vi said, people would always be corrupt. **The evil is part of man's eternal weakness, and only the Kingdom of God can be perfect and good.**

That means it doesn't matter much what you do, things will remain the same. Well, even though it might be true that socialism wouldn't change things. I can't let Agnes down by not fighting for more staff. But when is the next time we'll have to fight again? And in the meantime, the bedsores and the deaths . . . I've been at St. John's longer than most. I know each time we fight —these last 10 years especially—it's for a little less. In the early Sixties we got a big raise. Half again as much. Because of the other hospitals unionizing. Then I would have thought somebody was crazy telling me we'd be fighting today for 5% with coffee $4 a pound, and milk double what it was then. You have to see these things over time. In what direction are things leading? Where am I leading the people?

Only half an hour before the alarm rang did Ernestine finally sleep. She received no sign from God.

Mary was fired at 9:05 the next morning for failing to leave her unit to cover another floor. Ernestine, as soon as she found out through Milton, acted immediately. Her mind worked on many levels, but notifying the other workers in the fraction came as a result of meeting with them for months. Brief notes read, "We must go out before we planned. Mary's fired. 10:30."

Above all, she had a deep confidence in the majority of people in that hospital. This came not only from the long, careful discussions over the years. That was important and necessary, but it was still one to one. It also helped to know their fraction had ties in every department in every shift and that nose counts were tallied daily. They were more thorough than Fehnborg because their knowledge came from working side by side. But the nose counts were tactical matters. What gave Ernestine her rooted confidence was that she had seen people in this hospital act together. For those who had been around only a few years, even five, there was no such thing as hundreds of people fighting as one.

Ernestine gasped with pain as she straightened quickly from her writing. She was not an old woman to have such a pain! What would the pain be like one year from now when they were back to where they started? But to lead people about socialism when you didn't know what that would bring?

She had already reconciled striking one of The Lord's hospitals as she had done twice before in the past: He Himself would not want conditions to get worse for the sick. In the back of her mind the questions kept turning, but meantime there was much to do. Perhaps Mary's getting fired had been the sign for her to lead the strike, and to leave politics out of it?

Most of the nurses and doctors on 11C were in rounds. There was a phone call for Ernestine. It was Mary. She was outside. The security guards carried her out, she said, when she refused to leave quietly.

"There are cops outside. They put up wooden horses by the new entrance. I think they're going to push you all to Kennedy Blvd. when you come out at 11."

"We're going out at 10:30," said Ernestine. "We won't let them put us where nobody goes in and out. I have to prepare the others for a fight."

There was a short silence on the other end. "Are you going to tell them the **job** of cops under this system."

"I don't have time for all that."

"When is the time, after people've gone home with their lousy 5%?" Mary didn't like to get angry with Ernestine, her good friend, but this wasn't a personal matter. "Well?"

"All I can say's I'll think about it." Mary **was** right. But there was too much to be done, and Ernestine knew she would not add this burden of politics onto her chores.

Mary knew Ernestine wouldn't raise this issue, and she blamed herself for not struggling over ideas more with Ernie, and not letting herself get so hung up on arguing religion with her. But this one phone conversation now could not make up for lost years.

"I'm going to go," she said. "I have to get ahold of the other party members at the other places. They have to know it's definitely on." She was about to hang up. "Don't discount the nurses," she reminded Ernie, "The minority nurses especially."

"Thanks. Sunny'll help." Ernie didn't have quite the confidence in the nurses that Mary had. Most of them had gone **in**, last time.

After she hung up, Ernestine sent out more messages while the nag in her brain warned about the political role of the cops. Didn't people already know cops were the enemy? She called Manny in Engineering.

"Manny speaking."

"Get ready. 10:30."

"Right. They're in for a few surprises."

"You know it." Ernestine had to work fast now. The head nurse would be back from her meeting any minute. She'd never allow Ernestine to use the nursing station phone like the ward clerk did. (Bringing up the role of the cops and

even mentioning capitalist system now would bring out too many questions in people's minds. You couldn't allow questions when you had to all fight together. There simply wasn't **time**.) The next step of the plan had to be done before rounds was over.

The patients. Start with Maloney and then Agnes. Better yet, tell them all. Not all can hear. They'll have to get it from the others.

Ernestine stood in the isle, "Listen to me everybody, please. You all know things have gotten worse here. Some of you have been here longer than my 17 years—20, 35. They're planning more layoffs. You know we can't sit back. They just fired my friend, Mary. Some of you know her. They fired her because she refused to leave her own patients to work on another floor. That would leave no one to cover while she was gone." She looked at the two rows of beds. Covers stirred, heads turned. The people in wheelchairs, which were in too narrow quarters to be turned, twisted to face her. All eyes, like those of many timid wild creatures who watch a stranger, looked at her. She was telling them things as if they were equals with the workers. They had never included the patients before, but Mary suggested they should this time.

"We're going out at 10:30 today. You're going to have to take care of yourselves. I don't know for how long. Those who can walk or wheel around can get the others water. I brought up extra sheets and chucks yesterday. They're hidden in the bathroom hamper." She softened her voice, "Do you understand, Agnes, Mary, Thomasina . . .?"

There was silence for a short time. What if they hadn't understood?

"Could you help me go now, please, so I won't have to for awhile?" Agnes' voice could hardly be heard.

"What about my lunch," Mrs. Pulansky whined, "I'm hungry now."

"Shut up your face for once," Missy Maloney cut in.

"Why don't you."

"We can manage: don't you worry." It was Juanita Cruz. She hadn't spoken in two weeks. They didn't expect her to live through the summer.

"That's fine for you," said Mrs. Pulansky, "but I need help for everything. You people don't care what happens to me."

"If you don't keep that damn mouth quiet . . ." Mrs. Maloney searched for a few more words, ". . .don't you forget I'm the only one who can walk any distance around here . . ."

Mrs. Pulansky stuck out her lower lip but said nothing more.

"They're coming from the meeting," Miriam, the ward clerk, said.

Ernestine took Agnes for a final trip to the bathroom. Sister Rosellen said minutes later, "Mr. Fehnborg wants to see you. In his office now. I shouldn't tell you this, but he knows what you're planning for the lunch hour.

You never knew quite how to take Sister Rosellen. She wasn't exactly against you, but she wasn't quite with you, either. But Ernestine was inwardly relieved. They had first said the strike was to be for noon, to fool the administration. It had worked. She grinned at Agnes, her back to the sister, and winked as she smoothed the johnny coat over her knees. Agnes winked back. It was 10:15. Fehnborg would be calling key people from other departments, too. To try and tie up the leadership.

"I'll be right there. I'll go see him as soon as Agnes is finished." Ernestine knew Sister wouldn't offer to help with Agnes.

"Tell me when you're leaving the unit."

As soon as Sister left the bathroom, Ernestine pushed the wheelchair closer to Agnes so she'd have something to hang onto, and locked the wheels. She then went through the service door, using her key, which led to the men's bathroom. Milton was just leaving with an armful of dirty laundry.

"We've got to start off a few minutes early," said Ernestine, "Fehnborg's called me to a meeting."

Without a word, Milton dropped the laundry into the waste basket and took the back stairs.

"Phone call for you, Ernestine." It was Sunny, she was urgent. "Sister said not to let you talk but I told her it was your brother, an emergency. I'll take Agnes back."

Ernestine picked up the phone, her eyes on Sister Rosellen.

Manny's voice came, whispering, "Fehnborg wants me. What are we doing?"

"Let the dog guard the house," she said clearly. "He's going to bark, and the neighbors will complain, but that can't be helped."

"We're going out now?"

"Yes, and thanks so much: so long," Ernestine hung up the phone and said to Sister. "I'm off to Fehnborg's office now. Should be back before lunch."

Sunny called, "Wait! Let me catch the elevator with you. I've got some stuff for Central Supply." Sunny had a neat pile of used irrigation sets on the counter top, ready.

"Don't leave me here alone," Sister looked up from the charts.

"Not to worry. I'll just be a second," said Sunny, closing the nursing station door and thereby any further conversation.

She sputtered a laugh as they got into the elevator. Milton was inside. "Coming up to get you all," he said. "You're slow."

Ernestine looked at Sunny, "Can you get off at some floors and talk to friends?"

"You all didn't direct too many of your leaflets toward the nurses," criticized Sunny gently, "but my friend June Ryan's been talking to her friends. She knows we all do the same work, even though they call us 'professionals.'" And while Milton was just leaving with an armful of dirty got on from every floor,(most of the nurses were white), 10,9,8,7,6,5,4,3,2, said the orange numbers. And 22 people got out in the basement.

"We'll go through the oxygen tank service way," said Ernestine.

"I told everyone to use different exits," said Milton, his steady, dark eyes looking down. He had to stoop through the doorway, he was so tall. "Some of the security guards are OK. They're on the basement exits. The finks are on the first floor where Fehnborg expected most of the action."

They went through the darkened maze of deserted basement corridors. "We look like the last ones out. Sorry I took so long at each floor." The time had been in the talking. While loyal-to-administration nurses had complained loudly, none had tried to physically stop the nurses Sunny organized to go. Physical force would have been 'unprofessional.'

The oxygen ramp doors pushed open at the same time, showing at once the whole scene on 3rd Ave. It looked like someone had called an air raid. People kept streaming out of the building, even through the front door, because the few security guards could not hold them back. 350 to 400 workers. All the colors of the department uniforms, mingling. There were picket signs bobbing up and down because Ruth had brought them from her nearby apartment. Two picket captains were leading chants.

WHAT DO WE WANT? MORE JOBS. WHEN DO WE WANT 'EM? NOW!

But otherwise, there was a great deal of disorganization. About 40 cops wearing helmets were pushing wooden horses against people on the edge of the crowd, shoving them toward the Kennedy Blvd. drive.

"Just move it, and you won't get hurt. Move it over." The Chief of Police himself was shouting on the bullhorn.

Ernestine clutched the handle of the heavy bullhorn also brought by Ruth. Her hand was sweaty. Where was Mary? There was no direction in the many people pressed against the wooden barriers. The cops moved as a unit, their clubs in one hand, the barriers in the other, in front like shields. The helmets were frightening as they gleamed dully in the sun.

Oh people know the cops are the enemy, all right! Ernestine reminded herself of her argument with Mary. People were going to fight back, she could feel it, but there might have been more purpose behind... How could she, Ernestine, call her friends to fight? Not a one of them would end up dealing a conscious blow to the rich man's state. Not now, they would just end up hurt. They would think of the cops as defending law and order!

It started, then, while she stood paralyzed, the bullhorn at her side. People were angry at being pushed like cattle. They pushed back against the barriers as if on signal. The cops began to swing at those on the edge. Ernestine could see Milton pushing over the sawhorses with one swing of his mighty arms. Next, blood was running down his eyes, but he strode forward. Ernestine ran toward where she saw him go down. She forgot everything but the need to fight back right there and then. And she got to the edge of the fighting workers, and Milton wasn't there. She saw two of the cops beating their clubs on a woman in pink uniform.

Marcella Johnson! Ernestine moved quickly behind one of the cops and swung with the only thing she had—the steel bullhorn. It crashed into the cop's shoulder, making him let loose of his club, and cut through to the bone. Ernestine ducked away into the crowd, never noticing that her uniform had ripped from the armhole to the hem.

The barriers were no good to the cops now, and it was club against fists. More workers were hurt. An ambulance screamed in the distance. But the cops were moving back; there were **more** workers. And Ernestine held onto her bullhorn that was now covered with blood as she found herself on the ground. She was hit again and again, but she felt nothing. All she could think was to keep the bullhorn safe. Why, she wasn't sure. But she hugged it and suddenly the beating stopped.

What she could not have seen was, when Milton got arrested along with 5 other workers, the fight had continued by the squad cars. Cops were pulling people into the cars, and other workers were pulling them out. In the scuffle, one man had escaped by leaving through the opposite door of the squad car. Milton then returned to the crowd by circling the hospital, to jump on top of the cops on Ernestine. His straight arms and broad hands shoved two helmeted faces into the dirt. When Ernestine finally stood up, it looked to her as though the workers had won back the ground they had lost.

Then a horn blasted loud. A beat-up VW turned into the 3rd ave. entrance. Father Milligan drove into the crowd, horn blaring. People weren't prepared to dodge a car. They shoved the ones who were unaware out from the path of the VW. It stopped, more or less between the squad cars with arrested workers and the fight itself. Father Milligan took the bullhorn from the Chief of Police. He accomplished this smoothly, in one motion as he left his car. He began to talk.

62 CHRONIC ILLNESS

"Sisters and brothers . . . brothers and sisters. We need your support. It hurts my heart to see you come to this terrible violence. The hospital belongs to God. It is His house, just like the church is His house, and His concern is mine." The workers were not silent as he talked, but the fighting stopped momentarily.

"I implore you to stop and think. I've been sent here because this is a matter for the church. We didn't know there were such grievous wrongs. I can understand you need more staff, now that I know. Of **course** you need more money, as well. But how could I have known because you never sent a delegation to **me**?" Father Milligan's face looked pained. There were mumblings from the nearest people who knew him the best.

And silently, the squad cars furthest away rolled quietly from the hospital with their numbers of bleeding hospital workers.

Father went on, "I know your prices have gone up. Your heating bills, your rent. It is the same with us, too." He stretched out a hand, open. "The bills for the hospital and your church have gone up the same. But we're **reasonable** people **because** we all must pay bills. We've all had to tighten our belts some these days." There were a few angry shouts. Ernestine stood, her heart pounding. She had seen the squad cars drive away, and her eyes were cold and firey.

"I'll bet you all didn't know that at Jersey City General the folks there . . . their wages are about like yours . . . and they even have a union! That's right. You have it good here, compared to a lot of other places because the church is helping protect your wages. You give to our Lord, and the Lord God gives back. I'm asking you to go back to work, now, so that I can meet personally with your Mr. Fehnborg. Now that I know how you feel. We will talk about giving every one of you a raise. Then we will start hiring more people."

Workers began talking among themselves, but they did not move.

"Go in and you will get a memo before the end of the day. Mr. Fehnborg called to tell me you would be paid for the day if you go in now. Go inside, or you will not be paid. And he says, I won't be given sanction to hire more people through him unless you go in now. That's it!" He exclaimed as a few people began to move, slowly, but move toward the front door. "God bless you all."

Ernestine, unnoticed by the priest, was hurriedly making her way toward a small mound of construction dirt. She got someone to help her stand on an over-turned waste container. She looked across at her fellow workers and friends, and she was not afraid.

"EVERYONE STOP WHERE YOU ARE!

"A bunch of lies we've been listening to. We've been standing here like a bunch of dummies and the cop cars pulled away with our sisters and brothers. We've been listening to this . . . this . . . Judas with all his lies and promises while our friends got taken to jail!"

A few voices yelled, "She's right, I saw them go." Those workers in the door turned and listened.

Father Milligan's face was angry. He bent to the ear of the Chief of Police and pointed to Ernestine with a shaking finger.

"And you," Ernestine shouted at Milligan, "You've been pretending to be God long enough and I can't stomach your lying face anymore," she gasped for breath, seeing two lines of cops moving around the crowd to arrest her, "I still believe in God, but I don't believe you. I believe in what I see, and I see workers who built your church and who built this hospital and keep it going." She ran her words together. She didn't have much time, "It's us who should be telling you to go to work!" A cheer went up. "If this was socialism, that's what we'd be doing. Someday we workers will have all the power." People began to fight the cops moving in toward Ernestine. "We're going to stay right out here until you hire more people **today**. And HIRE BACK MARY LATTIMORE! HIRE BACK MARY LATTIMORE!

The workers in their white and blue and green and pink uniforms began to fight as one, and you could hear their chant over the blare of the police cars.

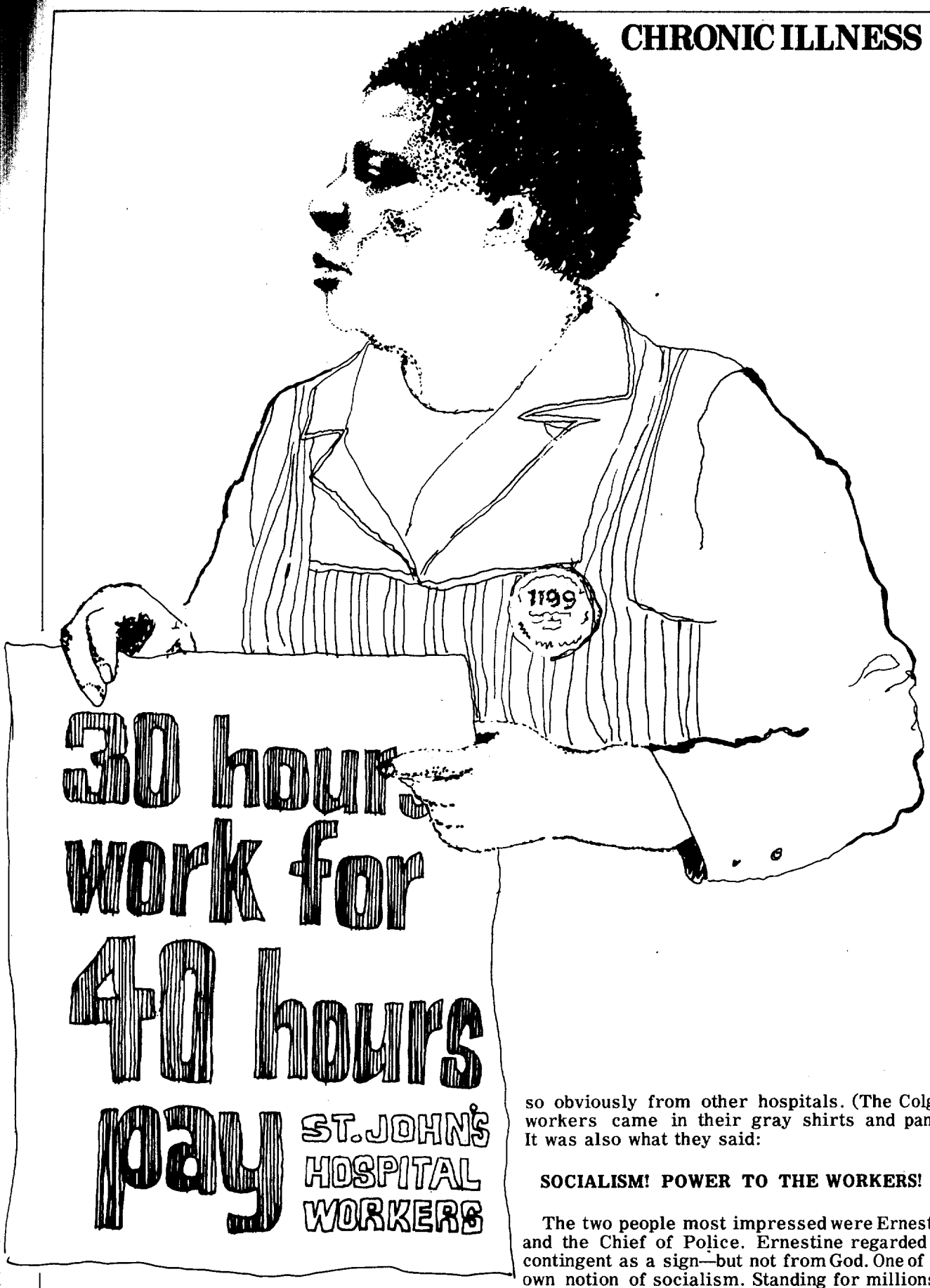
You could hear Ernestine's voice, from the other side coming now:

HIRE BACK MARY LATTIMORE! HIRE BACK MARY LATTIMORE! HIRE BACK MARY LATTIMORE!

Other cop cars were arriving now, from the 3rd and 4th precincts. Three paddy wagons pulled up, howling. There were more cop cars screaming in the distance, lights flashing. Ten more workers were arrested, and a cop had his skull split open, and construction bricks flew through the air.

It would have been hard to tell the outcome exactly, though the cops in Jersey City certainly outnumbered the workers at St. Johns, and it was only a matter of time, when two things happened.

Down 3rd Ave. came a solid rank of 35 workers, 7 rows of 5, with arms linked. Mary Lattimore was in the front line. It wasn't so much the relatively small number of people that made the fighting in front of the hospital cease for a time, but the fact that some of them by their uniforms were



so obviously from other hospitals. (The Colgate workers came in their gray shirts and pants.) It was also what they said:

SOCIALISM! POWER TO THE WORKERS!

The two people most impressed were Ernestine and the Chief of Police. Ernestine regarded the contingent as a sign—but not from God. One of her own notion of socialism. Standing for millions of

workers, together with a party fighting for certain ideas . . . Death to all bosses and cops . . .

The Chief of Police stood thinking, too. He estimated that one-third of the present force would have to be organized to attack that strong block of people. He hesitated.

The 35 hospital workers, Colgate workers, transit workers and city workers and phone workers and unemployed workers, communists and non-communists, descended on the 3rd Ave. entrance, making a tight picket line at the door. Their voices seemed twice as loud now.

ASIAN, LATIN, BLACK AND WHITE: WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

St. John's workers went to the line, swelling the ranks. As they came, the line stayed tightly disciplined. Arms were linked, and the shouting grew. The Chief of Police grabbed the mike on his bullhorn. He had to act fast. He would teach the workers of Jersey City a lesson they'd never forget. He had the manpower.

Then the second thing happened simultaneously, but at first no one noticed it except the security guards inside, and no one paid any attention to them. Water, tons and tons of water, was coming up into the lobby. Freely flowing from the basement where someone had left a water main open just one hour before. Flowing into the lobby, covering the entire first floor in fact, cascading out the front door. Fehnborg and Milligan didn't notice it right away from the phone booths where they stood.

The picketing workers were soon soaked through their shoes. The squishing sounds made a background for the chants and their high spirits as more workers crowded to the militant picket line. The head of the security guards grabbed the bullhorn from the police chief, "I've got to use your sound system. We've got to evacuate the whole first floor and maybe the second."

1, 2, 3, 4, WORKERS' POWER GUARDS THE DOOR!

5, 6, 7, 8, HIRE MORE WORKERS! WE CAN'T WAIT!

The bullhorn was being passed around the line. The cops were getting organized to charge. The St. John's fraction was meeting together, not five feet from the picket line!

"Quiet everyone," shouted Fehnborg, who had run to grab the police megaphone from the head security guard. "We've got to stop this disorder because the fire engines are on their way. Hospital property . . . I have permission from the church and the city to hire 40 more aides, dietary and housekeeping . . ." he waved a piece of paper.

FEHNBORG, YOU LIAR! WE'LL GET YOUR ASS ON FIRE!

The St. John's workers evidently did not care if hospital property was being ruined! "It states right here . . .!" Fehnborg screamed.

The workers meeting in the fraction had decided that at most they could guarantee their immediate demands. This was far from a general strike, and more cop cars kept arriving, the longer they stood. The wail of fire engines was heard.

Mary walked up to the sound system and took the microphone from Fehnborg, "If we read the telegram to you, and the demands are the same as what we want, shall we vote?"

Milton walked up to the microphone. He cradled his right hand with his left. The right arm hung loosely in a bloody sleeve. "I think I speak for everyone. You read. We all decide." There was a cheer.

"8 more dietary. 20 more aides. 6 housekeeping. 3 lab. 3 nurses. 5% across the board."

There was silence. After such a battle, so little. Ernestine grabbed the microphone. "We have to stay out here if it takes all week until they agree to rehire Mary. This place is nothing without her.

REHIRE MARY LATTIMORE! REHIRE MARY LATTIMORE!"

The voices were strong; joyous with the beginnings of accomplishment. Their squishing shoes kept time to the chant. They held arms, shoulders. Some carried their shoes by the laces, swinging them, causing the cops to step away a foot from the line.

Fehnborg motioned to the members of the fraction when he came away from the phone.

"They've agreed to rehire Mary!" shouted Ernestine. She did not need the bullhorn this time to make herself heard.

A great cheer went up, over the crowd of workers, over the billowing plastic sheeting, over the little, dome-like cupola, high. **POWER TO THE WORKERS!**

"They've agreed to rehire Mary today," continued Ernestine, "to hire 40 workers. To give us a measly 5%. We haven't won much from this battle, and we can't take it easy. They may fire any one of us tomorrow. They may **try**," she glared at Fehnborg. "And 5% is **nothing**, nothing at all. I just want to say one thing. We all better start thinking like communists or we're gonna end up HERE in our old age!"

Ernestine shook her fist at the hospital. And all the workers on the line raised their mighty fists at the building, too.

Mary Lattimore could hardly see their raised fists distinguishably, for at that moment it was all a blur.

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While Spewing Racist Filth on K.C. Radio

NAZIS MAULED BY COMMUNISTS

KANSAS CITY, Md., Aug. 13—Thousands of Kansas Citians listening to a KCKN radio talk show featuring a local Nazi organizer had the privilege of being first-hand witnesses to the PLP and Committee Against Racism on-the-air attack of this Nazi. The KCKN radio talk show featuring Nazi organizer Mike Breda had hardly gotten on the air when listeners heard the smashing of glass, and the disc jockey hollering, "What the . . .? We're being attacked!" For the next two minutes listeners were entertained by the clonking of Nazi heads and the enthusiastic shouts of attackers: "Get him. Get him."

Twelve members of CAR and PLP—men and women, black, Latin and white—forced their way into the radio station and went directly to the broadcasting booth where 2 Nazis were preparing to spew their racist filth. Three comrades smashed out the glass and, followed by three other class fighters, proceeded into the booth where the Nazi organizers present were given a thorough beating. The body guard, armed with a gun, never had an opportunity to draw it, as comrades smashed him on the head several times. This Nazi, bleeding profusely from the head, attempted without success to defend himself with a chair. The other Nazi (who had formerly had a taste of PLP working-class unity when he was beaten by our party at a Houston radio station) was smashed to the floor. Finally, he fled the booth only to be met in the hall by the remainder of our contingent and beaten bloody into a corner. This racist twirp never got a change to use his drawn knife. The station personnel were so surprised by the suddenness and the ferocity of the attack that they broadcast the entire Nazi mop-up live to the entire City.

Since the Nazis set out to establish themselves in Kansas City, a just two weeks ago, the newspapers and other media have scurried around behind them, giving them invaluable publicity. The local newspaper has publicized the Nazi "community hotline," where callers can hear a recorded racist message. They have further publicized the Nazi offer of a $5,000 bounty to any white killing a minority when attacked.

IN RESPONSE TO THIS AVALANCHE OF RAcism, the SCLC, and NAACP and other community groups have called for restraint from working people of our city. Despite this cowardly betrayal, many working people here are looking for leadership in resisting these scum. PLP is dedicated to providing this leadership and this action taken today was our first step in Kansas City to guarantee that "Fourth Reich" is destroyed in its cradle. It is actions like these that will put our party in the leadership of the anti-fascist struggle and will lead the working class to wiping out not only these scum, but also their rich mentors—the bosses—and their decaying system of capitalism.

MULTI-RACIAL FIGHT SMASHED THE KKK